

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME XLVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

THIS volume contains three groups of texts. In 3368–71 Sir Eric Turner publishes four papyri of Menander's *Misoumenos*; this publication replaces the preliminary version of two of them, printed in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 63 (1978) 315 ff. 3372–83 are papyri of Herodotus, identified and assembled in the main by Mr Lobel and by the General Editors. (Two items, 3374 and 3376, group numerous fragments collected from different parcels on the basis of the handwriting. The reader is warned of the normal hazards of this process. Some pieces may have been missed; some scraps, which have not been identified as Herodotus, may be wrongly included; some fragments, which have been so identified, may come from a different copy in similar handwriting.) Professor Chambers offered himself for the task of editing these; and he has borne the main burden of transcribing and commenting on them. Dr W. E. H. Cockle contributed much to the reading of difficult traces and the placing of smaller fragments (especially in 3376). Sir Eric Turner criticized successive drafts, and also made suggestions for the final form of the general introduction. Mr Parsons revised the resulting MS against the originals, and prepared it for the printer; he must take responsibility for any defects. 3384–429 comprise the private papers of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. This archive, which covers forty or more years in the mid fourth century AD, and allows a striking view of the Egyptian bureaucracy and the Greek language at its lower levels, has been edited by Professor John Shelton.

Professor Chambers records his thanks to Miss Catherine Perry, who assisted in the reading of proof. The General Editors are grateful to Dr Helen Cockle, for making the index to 3368–71, and to Professor Shelton, who himself indexed 3384–429; and to the managers, readers, and compositors of the Oxford University Press for their skill and cooperation.

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
E. G. TURNER  
*General Editors,*  
*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

May 1981

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\* All dates are AD

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets <> a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[ ]] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows ( $\rightarrow$ ,  $\downarrow$ ) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensis* 16 (1978) 64–5). In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

THE inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A.B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI  
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- I 1 *recto* 2–6. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 262–72.  
23–7. A new restoration in *BASP* 16 (1979) 154–7.  
5. Cf. *NTS* 25 (1979) 443–53.  
12. Cf. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 78–85.  
47. To be dated in the range AD 83/4–Oct./Nov., AD 88. Cf. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78–9.  
49. See below on 50.  
50 introd. The editors' statement that 50 is in the same hand as 49 is contradicted in P. Turner 19, 21 n., with addendum.  
72 (= P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 66) 7–8. For Μάρκω Πουρκίω ἐπιτυχάνοντι ἀπόντι read Μάρκῳ Πουρκίῳ ἐπιτυχάνοντι (= ἐπιτυχάνοντι) ἀπόντι, 'for Marcus Porcius Epitychanon, who is absent'. The verb ἐπιτυχάνω has no meaning that is relevant here, see *LSJ* s.v. For the name see D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* s.v.; add *XLIV3* 1978, J. R. Rea.  
80 (= W. Chr. 473) 11. For Σενοκώνεο read Σενοκώνεος. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is in Winchester).  
85. Cf. *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115–23.  
133. The likeliest date is 19 October, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20–1.  
134 30. For *Icaro* read *Iōñētō*.  
32. For Isat(u) read Iust(u)—IUST, pap. J. R. Rea (from a photograph of the original, which is in Cairo).  
135. The likeliest date is 21 March, AD 579. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.  
11–12. For τῆς . . . ὑπερφυλας read τῆς . . . ὑπερφύλα. P. Turner 54, 2–3 n.  
137. The likeliest date is 11 January, AD 584. *BASP* 17 (1980) 23.  
140. The likeliest date is 26 April, AD 550. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20–21.  
II 266 15. For [ἀν]αγγήν read [δι]αγγήν. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Sel. Pap.* I 7, 15 app.  
441 ii 1–5. Identified as an anecdote about the mother of Brasidas, see *ZPE* 36 (1979) 49–50.  
482 5–6. For Σενεκελεύ read Σενεκελεύ. J. Rowlandson; confirmed by J. R. Rea from a photograph of the original, which is in Chicago.  
495 5. For ἐνωπὶ Πέλα {Πέλα} read ἐνωπὶ Πέλα (= Ἐντιπέρα) Πέλα. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 107.  
IV 659. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardigzoni* ii 769–88.  
735 5–7. See *ZPE* 32 (1978) 260–1, which predates the note in *XLVII*, p. xv and should have prevented its appearance.  
806 (description). Edition in *CE* 52 (1977) 316–18.  
VI 846. See *BASP* 16 (1979) 201–4.  
969 1. For ἀρχεφόδων. μετάπεμψον . . . read ἀρχεφόδων Πέλα. πέμψον . . . *BASP* 16 (1979) 66, n. 16.  
996 (description). Editions in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 25–30; 67–78.  
1002 1. Καβητ( ) is certain; the proposal in BL I 330 and the entry in WB II 565 s.v. σωληρικός λέβης are to be cancelled. P. Turner 52, 1 n.  
VII 1037 9–10. For Θῶθ [τῆς παρούσης] ε[βα]c[i]λεfac read perhaps Θῶθ [τοῦ εἰσιόντος] ε[τρού]c οκα. *BASP* 16 (1979) 233 n. 13.  
1047. The text mentioned in the introduction is published in full in *ZPE* 33 (1979) 237–8.

- VIII 1112. 10. For Σενεκέλε(ν) read Σενεκέλεν.  
 13. For Σενοκόθ( ) read Σενοπόθ(εως). J. Rowlandson; confirmed from a photograph.  
 1115. Cf. *Vig. Chr.* 32 (1978) 195–207.
- IX 1174. Cf. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 47–52.  
 1176. Cf. *GRBS* 20 (1979) 187–200.
- X 1241. Cf. G. Perrotta, *Scritti Minori* ii 89–118.  
 v 2 ff. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 48.  
 1318 (description). For ἔτους μα[...] read and restore (ἔτους) μῆ καὶ εἰς = AD 308/9.  
 The date is 28 November, AD 308. *BASP* 16 (1979) 232.
- XI 1380 109–10. Cf. *JThS* n.s. 29 (1978) 147–51.
- XII 1411 11. On πλὴν μάλιστα see *JThS* n.s. 30 (1979) 175–6.  
 1440 3. Restore Κυ[κα]ραπή. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 253, 400. (Cf. XLVII, p. xvi).  
 1534. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157–9.
- XV 1790. Cf. *QUCC* 31, n.s. 2 (1979) 93–9.  
 1798 fr. 1. 3–4. Cf. *LCM* 4 (1979) 215–16.  
 1802 i 9. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 198.
- XVI 1899. On the date see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 50 and n. 1.  
 1905. Cf. *ZPE* 37 (1980) 185–95.  
 1970. The likelier date is 8 June, AD 554. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.  
 1972. The likelier date is 22 July, AD 560. *BASP* 17 (1980) 20.  
 1974. That the date is AD 538, not 499. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 123 (under AD 538).  
 1979 (description). Read παρὰ τῇ ὑμε[τε]|[πρ]e c.g. ὑπερφεύα. P. Turner 54. 2–3 n.  
 1981. The likelier date is 25 October, AD 612. *BASP* 17 (1980) 24.  
 16–17. Read perhaps παγαρχού(έντω) παρὰ τοῦ ὕψ(ον) [έν]θεξον οἴκου. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 193 n. 4.
1986. The likelier date is 29 October, AD 549. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
- 1997 4. For γά[τη]ρ[η] τῆ[ν]τος τεράρτης read and restore γά[τη]ρ[η] τῆ[ν]τος τεράρτης. *BASP* 17 (1980) 10.
- XVIII 2185 19. For [οὐδέ]ι(ας) read perhaps [οὐ]ι(ακῆς); sc. γῆς or προσόδου. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 12 n. 36.
- XIX 2238. The likelier date is 7 August, AD 551. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.  
 2242. Cf. *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 157–9.
- XXII 2327. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.  
 2347. Cf. *BASP* 15 (1978) 225–6.
- XXIII 2370. Cf. *CQ* n.s. 28 (1978) 396–7.
- XXIV 2399. Cf. *Historia* 26 (1977) 51–9; *ZPE* 39 (1980) 63–71.  
 2411 48. For παρ[ε]θέθη read παρ[ε]τέθη. D. Hagedorn by letter; confirmed from the original.  
 2420 11. Read probably παρά with the dative. P. Turner 54. 2–3 n.  
 12. For οὐ...[ read and restore perhaps παγαρχο[μείης]. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* IV 194.
- XXV 2430. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.

- XXVI 2443 fr. 1+3213. Cf. *ZPE* 32 (1978) 36–8.  
 2447 fr. 38. Cf. *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzone* i 127–55.
- XXVII 2452. Cf. *Mus. Helv.* 36 (1979) 136–41.  
 2455 fr. 107. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 7–14.  
 2464. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 105 (1977) 273–84.  
 2478 12. For τῆς . . . ὑπερφεύα read τῆς . . . ὑπερφεύα. P. Turner 54. 2–3 n.  
 2479. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 246–8.
- XXVIII 2483. A false join of fragments is corrected in P. Turner 1. 55–65 n. Lines i 9 and ii 1 cease to exist; therefore i 10 follows directly on i 8.
- XXXI 2579 3. For discussion of the date see *BES* 1 (1979) 12.
- XXXII 2617<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *AeR* 23 (1978) 83–7; 24 (1979) 41–3.  
 2619<sup>1(a)+30+31</sup>. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 65–71.  
 2623. Identified as by Simonides. P. Turner 3.  
<sup>21(a)+22</sup>. Cf. *Dionysiac. Nine Studies in Greek Poetry Presented to Sir Denys Page* 1–20.
- XXXIII 2673 22. For χαλκήν ὥλην (corr. from πύλην in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128), cf. now P. Col. VII 141. 23–33, which constitute a receipt for three amounts in pounds and ounces of χαλκής χυτής ὥλης. The editor translated this as ‘poured copper material’, which became ‘cast bronze’ in the introduction, p. 52, in the table on p. 53, and in the note on 26–7. It might have been either copper or bronze, i.e. copper alloyed with tin, but not both. The wording indicates that it was cast copper which needed further refining: χαλκής χυτής ὥλης, μὴ δοθεῖν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνακαθάρσεως ἐπον περὶ τούτου κελευχῆ (27–8). The translation runs, ‘of poured copper material not given by you for the cleansing at the time when it was ordered’. The genitive absolute clause seems rather to mean, ‘no contribution for refining being made by you until orders concerning this matter are issued’.
- XXXV 2737. Cf. *Rhein. Mus. N.F.* 121 (1978) 19–34.  
 1 ii. Cf. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 59–63.  
 2740. Cf. *Archiv* 27 (1980) 37–47.  
 2744. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 9–12; 36 (1979) 55–6.  
 2746. Cf. B. Gentili, *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World* 61–87; *MPhL* 3 (1978) 139–41.
- XXXVI 2780 5. For the induction number β read α. The date 16 July, AD 553 is correct. *BASP* 17 (1980) 21.
- XXXVII 2806. Cf. *ZPE* 35 (1979) 1–5.  
 2819 5–9. Cf. *ZPE* 36 (1979) 63–4.
- XXXVIII 2825 fr. B col. ii. *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* III 58–68.  
 2826 21–6. Cf. *Riv. fil. class.* 106 (1978) 396–7.
- XXXIX 2890. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 91–6; *ZPE* 33 (1979) 47–56.
- XLI 2946. Cf. *ZPE* 33 (1979) 57–74.  
 2972 3. The sellers appear again as taxpayers in *XLIV* 3163. J. E. G. Whitehorne, by letter.
- XLII 3010. Cf. *CP* 72 (1977) 22–31.  
 3051 7. For Σενεκάντας read Σενεκανάς. G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates* 13 n. 45. Cf. *XLV* p. xviii.
- XLIII 3097. Cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 209–10.  
 3111 1. introd. p. 55, penult. para. Delete ‘up the Nile’; the boat may more probably have travelled along the Tomis river. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 143.



### III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

#### 3384–3429. THE ARCHIVE OF PAPNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

The following group of papyri once belonged to the papers of two brothers named Papnuthis and Dorotheus, the sons of Aphynchis and Maria.<sup>1</sup> From one contract (3389), one receipt (3395), and two petitions (3393–4) we know that they belonged to the class of Aurelii, though that name is always omitted in the numerous letters and orders addressed to them. They were residents of the nome capital, where their father Aphynchis had owned some property (3384),<sup>2</sup> but their employment as collectors of taxes and managers of estates required that some portion of their time also be spent in the countryside. Both the brothers wrote fluently, though with a striking disregard for rules of spelling and grammar, and their mother may also have known how to read and write, as the one letter that we have in her name appears to be autograph (3403). Their father Aphynchis, on the other hand, required a signatory to sign a contract for him (3386).

The earliest dated text in the archive was written in AD 331 (3384), the latest in 371 (3395), but there are grounds for placing the undated 3415 in AD 376 (see introd. there), and some documents may be still later than that. The earliest text mentioning either brother is 3388, from late in AD 342. At that time Papnuthis was already serving as farm caretaker for one Sarapammon, by whom he was instructed to deliver seed grain to a tenant. The next year he acted as signatory for a woman who wished to appoint Aphynchis to represent her in some business before the *praeses Augustamnicæ* (3389, the latest text in which Aphynchis is known to have been alive).<sup>3</sup> His hand was then of professional quality.

There follows a period of fifteen years in which we have no datable papyrus from the archive. Some of the correspondence and lists may belong to this time, but we have no way of knowing. By AD 358, however, Papnuthis was in public or semi-public service: a group of notaries who address him as ‘brother’ order him to disburse some money to a confectioner on the staff of the strategus (3390). He had, then, a position of some financial responsibility, but it is hard to say whether he was directly employed by the notaries, the strategus, the city council, or someone else.

<sup>1</sup> Papnuthis' name is inflected with *-ov* in the genitive and *-ω* in the dative, but the nominative is always *Παπνούθις* (3394 20, 3395 5, 3398 2, 3399 2, 3402 2) or *Παπνούθης* (3389 20, 3397 2, 3400 1). I presume that his father's name was declined in the same way, though the nominative ending only appears once (*Ἀφυγχίς*, 3384 3).

<sup>2</sup> He may have given up possession of this house later, as he appears as a tenant in 3386. Dorotheus and Papnuthis claim to be wholly without property in 3393 13–14.

<sup>3</sup> It would be unsafe to draw chronological conclusions from the fact that Aphynchis had himself used a different signatory, not one of his sons, in AD 338 (3386): it might be that they were both still too young then, but they might also have been away on business or unavailable for some other reason.

A year and a half later, in AD 360, Papnuthis was serving as assistant, *βοηθός*, to a *praepositus pagi* named Horion (3391). A few months later Dorotheus comes into our records for the first time, as assistant for the same *praepositus* (3392), and so far as one can tell the two brothers continued to work together under changing employers to the end of our documentation. By AD 365 they were in the service of Eulogius, possibly another *praepositus pagi*, whose ill-treatment of them is the subject of 3393. The third employer that we know of was one Diogenes, whose position is uncertain, but who could well also have been a *praepositus* (3415–16). Diogenes is probably the latest of these three employers: AD 376 is a likely *floruit* (3415 introd.).<sup>1</sup>

As *βοηθοί*, Papnuthis and Dorotheus were expected to perform such routine tasks as disbursing money and foodstuffs to other members of the staffs of the *praepositus* and his superiors (3391, 3405, 3414; cf. 3425), but the duty which most occupies their correspondence was the collection of taxes, both in money and in kind. They were evidently responsible for collecting all the dues from a given geographic area: we hear of Terythis (3393), Berky (3400), Psobthis (3408), Satyru (3408, 3410, 3423), Tampeku (3409–10, 3423), and, as if it were no more than an Oxyrhynchite village, the Cynopolite nome (3423 12 with n., 3410). We do not know whether the brothers were responsible for all these places at the same time, but that seems to be the case for the last four at least.

A remarkable practice which emerges from the correspondence printed here is the custom Dorotheus and Papnuthis followed in paying out of their own funds and in advance taxes that were due from the villages under them, sometimes even borrowing money in order to do this (3397 introd.). They expected to recover these advances from the villagers themselves, either directly or through the comarchs. The tone of 3393 suggests that this expectation would normally be met (cf. 3396 introd.). They had, indeed, very considerable support: armed guards who stood at their disposal are mentioned frequently in the archive (cf. 3399, 3402, 3408–9, 3416, 3419), use of soldiers is considered in 3400, and the prison in the nome capital could apparently be used without the time-consuming preliminaries of a trial (cf. e.g. 3397 and 3409). At the same time, there was an effort to be fair (3417, 3420), and it is only natural if we hear more often of instances of injustice than of the times when all went smoothly.

It is a curious fact that many of the taxes which rested on the peasantry in fourth-century Egypt could not in practice very well have been paid by peasants. The average peasant is not likely to have owned gold or uncoined silver for the levies made of these metals and the taxes paid in them, nor usually to have been in a position to buy for himself the small amounts of them which were due on a few aruras of land. Instead, even for such taxes as *χρυσός τυράννων*, the peasant might pay small change which would then be used by the collector to purchase the solidi that had to be turned over to the government (3424 9 n., 3401). This was part of Papnuthis' and Dorotheus' job:

<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that one Chaeremon employed Dorotheus, if not both brothers, but this is by no means sure; see 3408 introd. None of the texts which mention Chaeremon can be dated closely.

they functioned not only as tax collectors, but as business mediators between the state and the peasant.<sup>1</sup> There were apparently ample opportunities for profit, and the task of collecting taxes from an entire village, though it must have been arduous, was clearly coveted (cf. e.g. 3393).

Papnuthis, Dorotheus, and most of their correspondents write vigorous, expressive Greek letters which are of no less interest for the language than for the history of the period. Papnuthis takes the only important business trip mentioned (3396) and is the most frequently mentioned figure of the archive, so he may have been older than Dorotheus.

So far as the religion of any persons in these papers can be determined, they are without exception Christians (3396–7, 3407, 3417, 3418 (?), 3421).

The papyri published here were discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in the course of their fifth excavation season at Behnesa, in 1905/6. A few pieces that have already been published elsewhere belong with some probability to the same group, though the names Papnuthis and Dorotheus are so common that it is not safe to rely on them for identifications. Nonetheless, P. Osl. III 162 has every appearance of being part of the archive. P. Osl. III 88 was probably written by the Chaeremon of 3408–10 (the end of 37 can be read  $\pi(\alpha\delta)$   $\chi\alpha[\rho\mu\nu\omega\kappa]$ ), but the recipient is apparently not Dorotheus or Papnuthis: the editors'  $E[\delta]\delta\omega\rho[\varphi]$  remains the likeliest reading. SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a *praepositus* Eulogius, who may be the Eulogius of 3393 and some other texts of the collection cited there. XII 1588 is too early to be part of the archive.

I have placed the dated texts first in chronological order, whatever their nature, followed by correspondence and lists; I have further included a very few other contemporary texts from the same milieu, when they tended to cast light on questions raised by the archive proper. It is likely that all the undated items fall roughly between AD 345 and 380, and most of them between 360 and 375.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following shortened references have been used:

Gignac, *Phonology*. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. i, *Phonology*. Milan, 1976.

Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*. A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*. Princeton, 1949.

Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*. J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*. Munich, 1958.

Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284–382)*. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres, LVII, 2. Brussels, 1964.

<sup>1</sup> The problem of seeing that each peasant paid his share toward the contribution of clothing, mules, and the like was similar and was no doubt similarly handled. This is perhaps not quite the 'clubbing together' of the humbler taxpayers that A. H. M. Jones speaks of (*LRE* i 65), but the end effect would have been very much the same.

### 3384–3429. THE ARCHIVE OF PAPNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

77

Mandilaras, *The Verb*. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*. Athens, 1973.

#### 3384. LEASE OF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(50–53)a

10 x 11 cm

14 April 331

Aurelius Aphynchis leases a house to Aurelia Maria for a period of three years at a rent the amount of which is lost. The mother of Dorotheus and Papnuthis was also named Maria, so it is possible that Aphynchis later married his one-time lessee, but the name was very common in Christian Egypt and there are no other grounds for supposing an identification. Seven years later Aphynchis himself appears as the lessee of half a house in a different quarter of the city (3386). The basic study of comparable documents remains A. Berger, 'Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri', *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913) 321–415; see further H. Braunt, *Festschrift Oertel* 34–46 and P. Yale 69 introd.

The back contains a few letters written across the fibres: *απειος*.

1 ιπατειας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου και Φλαουίου  
Ἄβλαβίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) ἐπάρχων, Φαρμοῦθι ιθ.  
ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλίος Αφύγχις "Ωρου ἀπὸ τῆς  
λαμ(πρᾶς) και λαμ(προτάτης) Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλία  
5 Μαρίᾳ Παθερμούτοι μη(τρός) Αἰτιας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τριά ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄν-  
τος μηρὸς Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
κε ιε ζ' τὴν ὑπάρχονταν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδοιν Μυροβαλάνου δόλκη-  
ρον οἰκίαν και ἔθιον και αὐλήν και κατά-  
κιον {και} σὺν χρηστηρίων και ἀνηρόντων  
πάντων και τελέσιν ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου κατὰ μῆ-  
να ἔκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηρὸς Φαρμοῦθι  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κε ιε ζ' φ[ρυγ]ούσιον

15

]. [

1 ιπατειας, φλαουίου 3 αφυγχις; c corrected from ν 4 οξυρυγχιτῶν 5 μη<sup>3</sup> απειος  
10 l. αἴθριοι, κατάγειοι 12 l. τελέσειν

<sup>1</sup> The consulship of Iunius Bassus and Flavius Ablabius the prefects, *viri clarissimi*, Pharmuthi 19. Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Aurelia Maria, daughter of Pathermutius and Attia, from the same city, for a period of three years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 the whole house, court-yard, side-court, and cellar which belong to him in the same city in the Myrobalanus Quarter, together with

all appurtenances and belongings; and she shall pay for rent each month from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 25, 15, 7 . . . in silver . . .

1 For *Iouvlōn* as against *Iovlōn* in *WB* and Degrassi's *Fasti consolari* see XLIV 3195 i n. The Cologne papyrus there referred to has since been published in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 139 ff.; add P. Strasb. 149 as corrected in BL V p. 133. The restoration in P. Lugd.-Bat. II 9(b). 9 should be changed accordingly.

8 and 14 Year 25 of Constantine I, 15 of Constantine II, and 7 of Constantius was AD 330/1. See XIV 1632 9 n.; cf. 3385 4 n.

10 #θριον; see P. Chantraine, 'Grec aïθριον', in *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 7–15.

11 The ν of χρηστρίων is badly blotted. For cū with the genitive cf. E. Mayer, *Grammatik* II, 2, p. 367; LSJ s.v., P. Col. VII 166. 8–10 n.

### 3385. ORDER TO DELIVER WINE

44 5B.60/C(12–13)a

23×10 cm

9 November 336

An order in standard form to deliver three ceramia of wine to one Aphynchius, who may or may not be the father of Papnuthis and Dorotheus. Similar texts in this volume are 3387 and 3388.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ἀμμωνίωνος Σαραπῆ χ(αίρεων).  
παράχεις Ἀφυγχίω δών τὴν τιμὴν ἐλογισάμην αὐτῷ οἴνου κεράμια  
τρία. Ἐρρώσθαι ce εύχομαι.  
(ἔτους) λαζ καὶ νιξ δις βς, Ἀθήνη νιγ".

'From Ammonion to Sarapas, greeting. Supply Aphynchius with three ceramia of wine, the price of which I have charged to him. I pray for your health. Year 31, 21, 13, 4, 2, Hathyr 13.'

4 The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius, Constans, and Dalmatius. The same years are found in I 92 4 as corrected by A. Chastagnol, 'La datation par années régnales égyptiennes à l'époque constantinienne' in *Aiōn (Caesordianum X bis)*, Paris, 1976) 221–37 at p. 237 n. 3; *Talanta* 8–9 (1977) 104; and presumably SE VI 9191 = 9270, which has been thought to leave either the reign of Constantine I or that of Constantine II out of account, but which much more probably follows the pattern of the other texts with λαζ καὶ ] καεὶ καὶ νιγ" καὶ δις καὶ βς in l. 9 (the original has been inspected by Dr Coles). The most recent study of such dates is in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, 1978 = *Studia Amstelodamensis* VIII) 36–40; cf. the same authors' *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (*BASP Suppl.* 2; 1979), 41.

### 3386. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

44 5B.63/(30–32)a

13·5×25·5 cm

28 March 338

Aurelius Aphynchis leases for two years, at a rent of twenty talents per year, half a house which is owned in common by four persons whom I have not been able to identify elsewhere, though they clearly belong to the most prestigious classes of Oxyrhynchus. Cf. 3384.

The back is blank.

### 3386. LEASE OF HALF A HOUSE

79

νπατεία[ε] Φλ[α]ο[γί]λων Οὔρεον καὶ Πολεμέον  
τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

Φλ[αν]ο[γί]οις Αθβονίω Φλαβιανοῦ γημ(νασιαρχ ) βουλ(ευτῆ) καὶ [ι] Αιν[γκριθίω] θηγ(ατρί) Αχιλλέω γενομένου 5 διασημοτάτῳ καὶ Αμμ[ω]ρίων καὶ Ἑλλαδίω νιόντις Αμμωνίων γενομ(ένου) βο[ν]λ(ευτοῦ) τῆς λαμπροτάτης Αλεξανδρίας παρὰ Αντρήλιον Αφυγχίου "Ωρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. ἔκουσίως 10 ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ἐναιστάτος λβδ' κβ) ιδης ε" τὸ ὑπάρχον ὑμεῖν καθ' ὅ ε[κα]στος ἔχι μέρος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου 15 [Ν]ημείον υπὸ [τ]ηγ[η] φπηλωτικὴν τῆς πόλεως [ε]τοά<ν> ε. . . ληρ( ) ἡμισυ μέρος οἰκία[ε] καὶ καταγύιον εὺν [χρη]η[ε]τηρίοις πάσι, ἐνοικίον κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρ[ου] ταλάρητων (m. 2) εύκοι, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) κ μόνα, (m. 1) βεβαιονμένη[ε] 20 δ' ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ἐπάναγκας ἀποδώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον κατ' ἔτος ἀκυλάντως καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω τὸ ἡμισυ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἀπὸ κ[ο]μηρίων καὶ δίετης πάσης καὶ ἀς ἐὰν παραλάβω θύρας καὶ κλεῖς {ἀποτίσω} 25 ἦ οὐ ἐὰν μὴ παραδῷ ἐκ[τ]ίσω τὴν δέξιαν τιμῆς<ν>. κυρία ἡ ἐπιδοχὴ καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρωτηθ(είς) ὀμολόγητα. ὑπατείας τῆς προ[σ]οκ(εμένης), Φαρμοῦθι β". (m. 3) Ανδρήλιος Αφυγχίες μεμίσθωμαι τὸ ἡμισοι 30 [μ]έρος τῆς οἰκεία[ε]ς καὶ δ[ι]ποδώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειται. Ανδρήλιος Σαραπάμμων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μηδ εἰδότος.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπα- <sup>4</sup> φ in Αιν[γκριθίω] corr. from η <sup>5</sup> 1. διαγμοτάτου <sup>8</sup> αφνγ'χιον; and <sup>v</sup> corrected from ε <sup>9</sup> οξυρυγ'χιτῶν <sup>12</sup> 1. ἐνεστάτος; θηραχδ <sup>13</sup> ὑμεῖς; 1. ἔχει <sup>20</sup> 1. ἐπάναγκες <sup>21</sup> 1. ἀκυλάντως <sup>23</sup> 1. δίετης <sup>28</sup> 1. ἡμισυ <sup>29</sup> 1. οἰκίας

The consulship of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius, *viri clarissimi*. To Flavius Aphthonius, son of Flavianus, (former?) gymnasiarch, councillor; and Flavia Asyndrithe, daughter of Achilles,

erstwhile holder of the perfectissimate; and Flavius Ammonion and Flavius Helladius, sons of Ammonius, late councillor of the most glorious Alexandria; from Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I willingly undertake to lease for a period of two years from the present month Pharmuthi of the current year 32, 22, 14, 5 the half of a house and cellar which belong to you in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites in the Nemeseum Quarter under the East Stoa according to the share which each owns . . . , together with all appurtenances, for the annual rent of (2nd hand) twenty (1st hand) silver talents, (2nd hand) total 20 talents only, (1st hand) and if this undertaking is secured to me I shall of necessity deliver the rent each year in full, and after the period I shall turn over the half house free of dirt and all filth, as well as such doors and keys as I have received, or, if I fail to turn them over, I shall pay their fair value. The undertaking is valid and when asked the formal question I so replied. Pharmuthi 2 of the consulship stated above. (3rd hand) I, Aurelius Aphynchis, have leased the half house and I shall pay the rent as stated. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have written for him, as he is illiterate.'

<sup>3</sup> Both *γυμνος* (*vacuārχω*) and *γυμνη* (*vacuārχήσαντι*) are possible; cf. XIV 1662 *z* and XVII 2137 *3-4*.  
<sup>4-5</sup> γενομένου διάεργοτάτῳ (l.-ov): the meaning appears to be that Achilles had before his death held all the municipal ὄρχα at Oxyrhynchus and thereby earned the rank of *vir perfectissimus*. See XLVI 3297 *i*. n.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly the strokes after one or more of the regnal years should be interpreted as (*éros*), but as they do not appear to differ from the strokes used simply to mark numerals elsewhere in the archive, and *éros* was omitted in XIV 1632 9, it may be that the word was felt to be superfluous in this context. Year 32 of Constantine II, 22 of Constantine II, 14 of Constantius, and 5 of Constans was AD 337/8. In P. *Youticus II 8 = XLV 2636* 11 (13 August 337), when this year still lay in the future, the dating formula added the prospective year 3 of the younger Dalmatius. That has been dropped here, so his death was (not surprisingly) known in Oxyrhynchus by this time.

here, so his death was (not surprisingly) known in Alexandria.

15–16 The Eastern Stoa of Oxyrhynchus was already known from XVII 2109 *g–io*, *30–1*, and PUG 22. *10–11*. The city also had a Southern Stoa, XVI 1966 *13*; cf. *τρούσιν* without further designation in P. Mert. II 76. *14*. The following traces are not simply ὅλος ἀλήθης (*οὐ*) (the phrase ὁλός κληρῶν ἥμας μέρος is attested; cf. PSI VI 707. *8–9*). Neither ἄπτο (or ἄπτη) ὁλοάληθης (*οὐ*) nor δικ (ἀλεγούοντος) seems satisfactory.

<sup>18-19</sup> The original rent, no longer legible but occupying about twice as much space as the present text, was washed out and replaced with 20 talents.

3387. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAMUTAIS

44 5B.63/(68-69)a

17×9·5 cm

9 May 342

One Pamutais, otherwise unknown, is to send wine to Tampemu for Sarapammon and his household. It is likely that Papnuthis, as *προνοητής* for Sarapammon (3388), was Pamutais' superior, so he may have acquired this chit in controlling the latter's records.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρ) Σαραπάμιωνος Παιμοντάί ἀμ(πελονγρῷ) χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχεις εἰς ἡμετέραν ὑπηρεσίαν διὰ Άποφθοντος  
φερόμενον μιαν εἰς Ταμπεμού οἵνοι σπάθιον ἔν,  
(γίνεται) οὖ(νοι) c(πά)θ(ιοι) α μόν(οι). ἐρρώσθαις σε εἴχομαι.

5 (ἔτους) λέγεται ἑνατον, Παχων ιδον.

4 /o<sup>+</sup>c<sup>0</sup>

5 1. ἐνάτου

3387. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAMUTAIS

81

'From Sarapammon to Pamutais, vine-worker, greeting. Furnish for our supplies, through Apphus, one spathion of wine to be brought to Tampemu for me, total 1 spathion of wine only. I pray for your health. Year 36, 18, 9, Pachon 14.'

<sup>1</sup> The name *Παμοντάς* is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

<sup>5</sup> (*έτονε*) λεξί<sup>η</sup> ιης<sup>η</sup> ἔταρον; a good example of the avoidance of the numeral *θ* in dating clauses see A. U. Sty�ow and J. D. Thomas in *Chiron* 10 (1980) 537–51. I have expanded the year symbol in the genitive as usual and assumed that *ἔταρον* is error for *ἔταρον*, but it may be rather that *ἔταρον* is correct and the whole date is a detached nominative. The regnal years are those of Constantine I, Constantius, and Constans, of whom only the last two were alive at the time of this document. For the type of dating see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36–40.

3388. ORDER FROM SARAPAMMON TO PAPNUTHI

44 5B.63/(9-12)a      20 x 8 cm      27 November-26 December 342

An order to provide a tenant with seed corn, written in the same hand as 3387.  
The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

π(αρὰ) Σαραπάμιωνος Παπονούτιώ προνοητῆ χ(αίρεων).  
 παράχεις Ἐλιά γεωργῷ εἰς καταστόραν σίτου μέτρῳ [ ] ἀρτά-  
 3 βας πέντε, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ε μό(ναι). ὁ αὐτὸς Σαραπάμιων  
 [εεπ(μείωμαι)].

'From Sarapammon to Papnuthis, caretaker, greeting. Supply the cultivator Elias for sowing with five artabas of wheat by the . . . measure, = 5 art. wheat only. I, the same Sarapammon, have signed.  
Year 27, 10. Chojak . . .

<sup>3</sup> For this way of signing an order cf. e.g. VII 1057 4, XLV 3262 7. PSI VII 784. 4 shows that the verb should be expanded in the first person just as in signatures without *gūrōc*.

<sup>4</sup> The reigns are the same as in 3387 5.

3389. APPOINTMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE

44-5B-621/(58-50)a 12 x 24 cm 14 March 243

One Aurelia Apia authorizes Aphynchis to represent her in a legal case of unspecified nature before the *praeses Augustanicae* Flavius Olympius. Aphynchis' son Papnuthis signs for the illiterate Apia in a hand of professional quality, but with the disregard of spelling and grammar that is typical of his other known productions. In form the document is comparable to that cited in P. Lips. 38 i 4-6 (= *MChr* 97 and Meyer, Jur. Pap. 91); cf. L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri* (Leipzig, 1906; reprint Aalen, 1966) 122-56. The case itself has left no further reflection in the archive that I can detect.

The back is blank, except for stray ink.

6

ὑπατείας Φρουρίου Πλακίδου τοῦ λαμπρού·  
τάτου ἐπάρχον ἵερον πραιταρίου καὶ  
Φλαονίου Ὦρωμούλλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,  
Φαμενώθη.

5 Αὐρηλία Ἀπία καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει ἀπὸ  
τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω  
Ἀφυγχίῳ "Ωρουν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-  
λεως χαίρειν. ἐντέλλομαι σοι καὶ ἐπι-  
τρέπω κατὰ τόδε μου τὸ ἐντολικὸν  
10 τὴν ἐντυχίᾳ[ν] πονήσασθαι ἔξ οὐρα-  
τός μου παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ δια-  
σημοτάτῳ ἥγεμόνι Φλανίῳ  
'Ολυμπίῳ καὶ τὰ προσόντα μοι  
δίκαια παραθέσθαι ὡς κάμοι παρού-  
15 ση ἔξετημι· κυρίᾳ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἀπλῆ  
γραφεῖσα ἦν καὶ ἔξεδόμην σοι καὶ ἐπε-  
ρωτηθεῖσα ὀμολόγησα.

(m. 2) Αὐρηλία Ἀπία πεποίημαι τὴν ἐντολὴν  
ἐπὶ πᾶσῃ τοῖς προκιμένοις καὶ ἐπερωτητὶς  
20 ὄμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Παπνούθης  
Ἀφυγχίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ ἀ' τῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰ-  
δότος.

19 1. πᾶσι, ἐπερωτηθεῖσα

20 1. ὄμολόγησα

21-2 1. εἰδότας

'Consulship of Frurius [sic] Placidus, *vir clarissimus, praefectus sacro praetorio*, and of Flavius Romulus, *vir clarissimus, Phamenoth* 18. Aurelia Apia and however she is styled from the city of the Oxyrhynchites to Aurelius Aphynchis, son of Horus, from the same city, greeting. I instruct and empower you according to this note of authorization to lay a petition in my name before my lord the *praeses* Flavius Olympius, *vir perfectissimus*, and to present my claims just as is permitted to me in person. The authorization, written in a single copy which I have turned over to you, is valid, and in reply to the formal question I so declared. (2nd hand) I, Aurelia Apia, have made the authorization according to all the above terms and in reply to the formal question I so declared. I, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis, wrote on her behalf, as she is illiterate.'

<sup>1</sup> Φρουρίου: cf. P. Abinn, 46.9 ὑπατείας] Φρουρίου Πλακίτου κτλ. Numerous other sources, however, agree that the name was Furius rather than Frurius: see PLRE I p. 705 and add to the references given there ZPE 8 (1971) 222, text b, l. 5 and 223, c, l. 2. A further new papyrus (*ibid.*, text d, l. 3) omits the name, and ZPE 20 (1976) 158 l. 15 is damaged at the relevant point.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀπία: here one might hesitate between Ἀπία and Ἀττία, but only Ἀπία can be read in l. 18.

<sup>12-13</sup> Fl. Olympius is no. 2 in the list of *praesides Augustamniae* drawn up by J. Lalliermand in *L'Administration civile*, citing SB VI 9622 from 6 April 343.

## 3390. ORDER FROM PATAS AND ASSOCIATES TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)b

11 × 9 cm

14 July 358

A group of *νομικοί*, or perhaps *νομικάριοι*, instruct Papnuthis in remarkably bad Greek to pay ninety myriads of denarii to the strategus' pastry-cook. This is the earliest datable text in which either of the brothers appears in a public or semi-public role.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

Πατᾶς 'καὶ κοι(νωνί)' νομικ(οί) Παπνουθίφ ἀδ<ε>λφ(ῷ)

χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἰέρακος βαστιλᾶτ(ος) τοῦ

στρατηγοῦ εἰς ἡμῶν λόγου

5 δηναρίουν μυριάδας ἐρενήκοντα,

(δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) θέμόνας.

(ἔτους) ἀδέσγ", Ἐπειθ κ. Πατᾶς σεση(μείωμα).

3 δὸς corrected from δὲς; 1. Ἰέρακι παστιλᾶτη 41. λόγον 51. δηναρίων, ἐνενήκοντα 6 ✕ η

'Patas and associate notaries (?) to our brother Papnuthis, greeting. Give Hierax, confectioner of the strategus, on our account ninety myriads of denarii, 90 myr. den. only. Year 34 = 3, Epeiph 20. I, Patas, have signed.'

<sup>1</sup> νομικό had a wide range of meanings, from professional *iurisconsulti* to *tabelliones*, scribes with sufficient legal knowledge to draw up correct contracts between private persons; see Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.; Du Cange, s.v.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und Sozialstellung der römischen Juristen* (and ed. Graz, 1967) 354–65. If one looks for a professional group likely to have been called νομικοί, to have been of roughly the standing of Papnuthis, and to have moved in his business circles, a very tempting choice would be the *tabularii* (cf. 3411 3 note), though I do not find the equation νομικός = *tabularius* in any lexicon. It is not clear whether there was a difference between νομικός and νομικάρος. If it is true that the latter were nome officials, as cautiously suggested in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 252 n., they were perhaps of too high a standing to address Papnuthis as ἀδελφός; but if the words are simply alternative forms (so XII 1416 21 n.), then there is nothing to choose between them here.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances of *παστιλᾶτη* in the papyri are cited in XVI 1891 4 n. For the spelling in β- see Gignac, *Phonology*, 83–5.

<sup>5</sup> ἐρενήκοντα: for the spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 109.

<sup>7</sup> The regnal years are those of Constantius and Julian.

## 3391. ORDER FROM HORION TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(24-26)b

11 x 12.5 cm

16 January 360

Horion instructs his assistant to provide 10 pounds of meat for members of the staff of 'my lord the count'. That might refer to the catholicus, but there are other possibilities as well. For Horion cf. 3405 introd.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

'Ωρίων Παπνούθις  
βοηθῷ χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχου εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν  
τοῖς ὄφφ(ικαλίοις) τοῦ κυρίου μου  
5 τοῦ κομίτος κρέως  
λίτρας δέκα, γύ(νονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραι) ι.  
(ἔτος) λεξ" εξ", Τύβι κ'.  
(m. 2)                  'Ωρίων σε(γημελώματα) κρέως λίτρας  
δέκα.

'Horion to Papnuthis, assistant, greeting. Supply the *officialia* of my lord the count for their needs with ten pounds of meat, total 10 pounds of meat. Year 36 = 5, Tybi 20. (2nd hand) I, Horion, have signed for ten pounds of meat.'

## 3392. TAX RECEIPT

44 5B.63/(58-59)b

11.5 x 27.5 cm

14 June 360

A receipt for *πρόσκαιρα*, ἀννωνικὰ εὖδη, and χλωρὸς χόρτος issued by the *praepositus pagi* Horion (cf. 3405 introd.) acting through his assistant Dorotheus.

Receipts for taxes collected directly by the office of the *praepositus* are remarkably scarce, seeing that tax-collection seems to have been a principal duty of *βοηθοί* like Dorotheus and Papnuthis: another example of such is SB V 7756. For some reason 3392 remained in Dorotheus' hands instead of those of the taxpayer, and so was preserved among his papers.

The last two of the three taxes paid are well attested (see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 192, 197), but the only other receipt for *πρόσκαιρα* is BGU III 799, said to be from the Arabic period. P. Lond. III 979, a land lease from AD 346, specifies that the landlord must pay all taxes, including ἀννῶνας καὶ πρόσκαιροι ἐπιβολαί. Otherwise the charge is known only from comparable clauses in documents of the sixth century, where it is contrasted with *κανονικά* (see P. Cair. Masp. II 151. 73 note), and from 3427 3. See in general Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 138-41, where *πρόσκαιρα* are

## 3392. TAX RECEIPT

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identified as *superindictiones*, extraordinary levies authorized by the emperor in times of emergency. Minor taxes for local purposes would also seem possible.

On the back, written across the fibres: ,βαμ.( )[<sup>2</sup>] Θῶνις[.]

παρέχ(ει) Θαῆςις γυν(ή) Διονυ-  
σίου ὑπ(έρ) προσκέρον καὶ ἀννων-  
κῷρη ἰδῶν τῆς εὐτυχούντης  
τρίτης ἡδί(κτιώνος) παντοίων ὑπ(έρ) (ἀρουρῶν) διγ<sup>2</sup>  
5 πλήρης καὶ διμοίος ὑπ(έρ) χλοροῦ  
χρότου τῆς αὐτῆς ι[νδί]οι(κτιώνος) [τ]ὸ δέρον  
πλήρης.  
(ἔτος) λεξ" εξ", Παῦνι κ'.  
'Ωρίων πραπ(όσιτος) δι' ἔμοις Δωροθέου  
βοηθ(οῦ) σε(γημελώματα).

1 παρέχ <sup>2</sup> , γυν <sup>3</sup>	2 ν <sup>2</sup> , 1. προσκάρων	3 1. εἰδῶν	4 νεδ <sup>2</sup> , ν <sup>2</sup> υ-	5 1. διμοίος; ν <sup>2</sup>
χλωροῦ	6 1. χρότου; ινδίοι; 1. οιροῦ	9 πραπ <sup>2</sup>	10 βοηθ <sup>2</sup> σε	

"Thaesis, wife of Dionysius, has delivered the full amount due for occasional taxes and items of all sorts for the *annona* for the fortunate third indiction on 4 aruras, and likewise the proper share of fresh hay for the same indiction, in full. Year 36 = 5, Payne 20. Signed by me, Horion, *praepositus*, acting through me, Dorotheus, assistant.'

3393. PETITION TO THE *RIPARI*

44 5B.63/(15)a

21 x 29 cm.

8 June 365

According to this petition, Dorotheus and Papnuthis had been employed by the councillor Eulogius to assist in the collection of taxes from Terythis, a village in the fourth *pagis* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. They had accordingly paid the ἀπατητραί a considerable sum for taxes due there, incurring debt from private lenders in order to raise the money required. This they had planned to recover when they collected the taxes in the village, but then Eulogius sent instead of them his own son and a different assistant. As the collection at Terythis had been completed, the brothers saw no prospect of regaining their money from that source, and their creditors had already been receiving interest for six months. They therefore request in this petition that the money which they had paid be returned by the responsible officials.

Eulogius is identified in the text simply as *πολυτενόμενος*. It is hard to say whether such heavy involvement in tax collection as his clearly was is to be expected of a councillor *per se*. According to 3400 30, 3425 7, and SB V 7756. 22 there was at least one

*praepositus* named Eulogius in office about the time of this text. Possibly the Eulogius of 3393 is the same man, and is acting here as *praepositus*, though if so the designation πολιτευόμενος seems oddly imprecise.

3393 is complete but was left unsigned. Probably it is a fair copy of the petition which the brothers kept for themselves. The transcript was made by P. J. Parsons. The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος  
αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων, Παῦνι ιδ'.

Ἀρχόλιος Σαρμάτης καὶ Διογένης ρίπαροις Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Δωροθέου καὶ Παπουούθιον ἀμφοτέρων ἐκ πατρὸς  
5 Αὐρυγχίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, πρὸ τούτου προετράπημεν  
ὑπὸ Εὐλογίου πολιτευόμενον ὥστε χώραν βοηθοῦν ἀποπληρώσαις  
ἐπὶ κ[ά]μης Τερ[ιθέ]ως καὶ διδόναι πάσαν προχρέαν τοῦ εὑρεῖν  
καὶ διδόναι εἰς τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα ἄχρις ἂν τὴν  
ἀπαίτησιν τῆς προλεχθεῖστης κώμης ποιησάμεθα, καὶ δὴ πει-  
10 θέντες ἐπὶ τούτους αὐτῷ ἀμέμπτως τὴν χρέαν ἀπεπληρώσαμεν  
ἐν δὲ τῷ μετοξὺ οὐδεμίᾳ προχρέαν παρέσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἡμᾶς παρέβα-  
λεν τοὺς ἀπαυτῆτα[ς] καὶ μετὰ ὕβρεων ἀπηγγίθημεν τὰ συντίνοντα  
τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ. ἔπ[ι] τοίνυν ὅπὸ τῆς πολλῆς πενίας μηδὲν κεκτή-  
μένοι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἔδαινασάμεθα παρὰ δανιστῶν ρήγην πο-  
15 σότητα ἀργυρίων καὶ νομιματίων τὰ καὶ δοθέντα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ δημόσια  
καὶ διτὶ [οἱ]δὲ ἐπετράπημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐλογίου ἐκβήναι εἰς τὴν προ-  
ειρημένην κώμην ἀπὸ μηνὸς Τέβρη ἔων τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τόκους  
χορηγούμεν τοῖς δανισταῖς τοῖς εὐχρηστήσασει ἡμῖν μὴ ἐπιτραπέντες  
τὴν ἀπαίτησιν πονήσασθαι τῶν προχρησθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ  
20 καὶ τὸν ιερὸν αὐτοῦ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Δωρόθεουν βοηθὸν ἀπέστιλεν εἰς Τερύ-  
θιν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν πεποιηρται, τούτου ἔνεκεν τὰ βιβλία  
ἐπιδιδόμεν τῇ ἡμῶν ἐμμελίᾳ δέξιοντες μετασταλῆναι τοὺς δημο-  
25 κίους τοὺς καὶ ὑπενθύνουν δότας καὶ ἐπαναγκασθῆναι πάντα τὰ  
προχρησθέντα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδοῦναι ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοῖς  
εὐχρηστήσας ἡμῖν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ συμεῖναι ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδείας καὶ μὴ  
ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀδόρμης μετανάσται γενώμεθα τῆς πατρίδος.

1 ὑπατείας 2 αἰωνίων, παῦνι 3 1. Διογένει 4 ἀμφοτέρων corrected from ἀμφότεροι  
6 ὑπό 12 l. συντένοντα 13 l. ἐπει 14 l. δανιστῶν 15 l. τῶν καὶ δοθέντων 16 ὑπό<sup>o</sup>  
18 l. δανισταῖς, εὐχρηστήσας 19 υφ 20 τίον, l. ἀπέστιλεν 23 ὑπενθύνους, ἐπαναγ' κασθῆναι  
24 υφ, ίνα 25 l. ίδιας

## 3393. PETITION TO THE RIPARII

The consulship of our masters Valentinian and Valens, eternal Augusti, Payni 14. To Aurelius Sarmates and Aurelius Diogenes, *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dorotheus and Aurelius Papnuthis, both of them sons of Aphynchis, from the same city. Some time ago we were persuaded by Eulogius, a councillor, to fill the post of assistant for the village of Terythis and to give a full advance toward finding and contributing to every sort of public dues required until we should have carried out the collection for the afore-mentioned village; and we were satisfied with these terms, and carried out our duties for him irreproachably. In the meantime he provided no advance, but referred the collectors to us, and the taxes which are due from the same village have been exacted from us with insults. Since, then, on account of our great poverty we possess no property whatever, we borrowed from moneylenders a certain quantity of silver coins and of solidi, which have indeed been paid to cover the same public dues. And because we were not permitted by the same Eulogius to go out to the afore-stated village from the month of Tybi up to the present, and we pay interest to the creditors who made loans to us although we have not been permitted to carry out the collection of the sums advanced by us, but he even sent his son Sarapion and Dorotheus, an assistant, to Terythis instead of us and they have carried out the collection, for this reason we have presented the petition to your grace, requesting that the responsible officials be summoned and required to return all that was advanced by us so that we can repay the men who made loans to us and remain in our native city and not be forced to become exiles from our homeland on this account.'

3 ρίπαροις: the highest police agents of the nome. See Lallemand, *L'Administration civile 162-4*; Oertel, *Liturgie*, 284-6.

5-7 προετράπημεν . . . προχρέαν: a principal difficulty in interpreting this text is to decide by whom and to whom this monetary advance was to be given. (a) The natural meaning of the Greek as it stands is that Eulogius had persuaded the brothers both to accept appointment as assistants and to pay in advance the whole amount which they were to collect in taxes; line 19 speaks of sums in fact advanced by them. This would agree with evidence elsewhere in the archive that not only Dorotheus and Papnuthis but other persons in similar positions sometimes, and perhaps routinely, advanced to the ἀπαίτησιν sums that were due for the villages that fell under their jurisdiction in expectation of recovering the money with profit from the villagers later (cf. 3397, 3419; for the second century cf. XXXVIII 2861 11-12 n.). (b) The objections to (a) are that taking on the tax liability for an entire village even temporarily seems an astonishing thing for two persons who claim to suffer from πολλὴ πενία (13) to do, and that it leaves the charge in 11, that Eulogius οὐδεμίαν προχρέαν παρέσχεν, without much obvious relevance. One may therefore prefer to believe that the text has been misdrafted: e.g., read 7 καὶ ὡς τέλεσθαι δόδωνα, and he (Eulogius) promised to give (us) a full advance so that we would be able (τοῖς εὑρεῖν) also to contribute 'etc'. For εὑρεῖν = 'be able' cf. LSJ s.v. I (3), for the articular infinitive Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff.

7-8 On the assumption that the text is correct as written, τὰ ζητούμενα δημόσια παντοῖα apparently serves as object to both εὑρεῖν and δόδωνα etc. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 815 ff., cites no articular infinitive altogether parallel to the two here in that case. The idea would seem to be that the task at hand was thought of as finding the necessary taxation sums among the villagers and turning these over to the state through the ἀπαίτησιν (12). If the brothers paid the latter in advance of the actual collection they reserved the right to claim the money back again under certain circumstances (as they do in this petition), so the use of προχρέαν would be justified, the payment not yet being final. This would be the interpretation suggested by 5-7 n. (a). If the advance spoken of was made by Eulogius to the brothers to be paid for taxes (5-7 n. (b)), the use of προχρέαν to describe it raises no problems. But on either view the construction as a whole is difficult and the translation remains uncertain.

11 οὐδεμίαν προχρέαν παρέσχεν: the point of this complaint is clear if 5-7 n. (b) is correct. In the case of (a) one must assume that the persons who had actually delivered money or goods to the ἀπαίτησιν had a moral, if not legal, claim to carry out the subsequent tax collection themselves. As Eulogius had made no such advance, he was in the brothers' view not entitled to forestall them in the collection.

20 SB V 7756 is a tax receipt signed by a Eulogius acting through a son who might or might not be the Sarapius mentioned here. The receipt is dated to 27 September 359, however, almost six years earlier than this text, so there may have been two *praepositi* named Eulogius, assuming that the man here was indeed a *praepositus*.

3394. PETITION TO FLAVIUS FLAVIANUS

44 5B.60/C(11)a

15×28 cm

#### Fourth century (364–6?)

Flavius Flavianus, to whom this document is addressed, is presumably to be identified with the recipient of another petition, PSI VIII 944. Neither text preserves Flavianus' title further than the rank *vir clarissimus*, but PSI 944. 3 definitely, and 3394 4 probably, refer to the man as *ὑψηλὸν κύριον*. According to C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 264 à 395* (Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels 1962) 101 n. 4, this usage indicates that Flavianus was a *praeses*; and in the context of this archive, that could only be the *praeses Augustamnicus*. A *praefectus Aegypti* named Flavianus, however, is attested for the years AD 364–6 (Vandersleyen 18 no. 39; Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 246, no. 31). During those years Oxyrhynchus was part of Augustamnica (cf. XLVI 3308 7 n.), but the possibility of an appeal to the prefect in that period cannot be excluded (3398 9 n.). If the Flavianus of our text should in fact be the *praefectus Aegypti* rather than the *praeses Augustamnicus*, his known term of office would place this petition to within a year of the similar 3393. It seems best for the present to leave the question of his position undecided.

The papyrus is badly mutilated, but it is clear that Dorotheus and Papnuthis, having borrowed money to pay taxes, found themselves in unexpectedly straitened circumstances, were unable to meet their obligations, and feared that they might have to take to flight. Flavianus is requested to take some action so that this can be avoided, but the nature of the desired intervention is lost in lacuna. The situation as a whole is reminiscent of 3393, and the two cases may be related, though they do not seem to be identical. Unlike 3393, the brothers actually signed the present text. As it was nevertheless found among their papers it was either never sent or was returned to them.

The back contains the following note, written across the fibres: λέγομεν δὴ Θωνίου γ(ιοῦ) Κορητός<sup>3</sup> καὶ Διοσκούριδον<sup>4</sup> καὶ Σενήρου, ‘we mean of Thonius the son of Copres, Dioscurides, and Severus’.

[Φλα]ογίου Φλαονιανῶν τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ [  
 [π]α[ρ]ὰ Ἀθ[η]νῆιών Παπονούτιον καὶ Δωροθέου ἀμ[φοτέρων] . . . ἀπὸ τῆς . . .  
 [=]Ο[ξ]υρυγχιτῶν πόλεως. πάντας μὲν ο[.] [  
 [ἡγέ]μὼν κν[ήρ]οιε, ἐξαιρέτων δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸν μετρι[  
 [...]ίας [...]αζόμενοι τὰ εὐνεβή τελέσματα π[. . .]  
 [εἰς τ]ὸ ἑρώ[ν]τας ταμεῖον πληρῶσαι ἔδανιςάμ[εθα  
 [...]...], αι τοῦτο εὑμαρῶς πληρῶσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπ[. . .]τυχ[  
 παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας προσδοκίας παθόντες ζητω[

I [φλα]ονιώτ φλαονιάναι

### 6.1. ἐδαυειςάμεβα

3394. PETITION TO FLAVIUS FLAVIANUS

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[...],<sup>10</sup> οἱ δὲ δανιστὰ τῆς ἔχ[ο]ύσης ἡμάς μ. [...]  
 [...] δῆτας πλέιστος ἀπήγηταν ἔω[ς] [c] ἀν ἐκ τῆς εκ[  
 [...]],[...], εἰς τὸ σοοῦντο ὥ[θε]η ἡμᾶν καὶ τῶν ἀνα[γκαίων δεῖθαι (?)  
 [...] ἔμερ[εν] τῆς τῶν δανιστῶν πλεονεξίας καὶ δ[  
 [...]],[...], τὴν πατρίδα καταλύουσι στενοχω[ρ  
 [...] τόδε οἱ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀναγκ[  
 15 [...]],[...], παρασχόμενοι ὅπως ἐλέγησε τ[  
 [...]],[...], παρὰ Ἀθανασίου τοῦ πρ[ο]πολιτε[υ]μ[ένου  
 [...]],[δρῦ]να πρὸς τ[ην] πόλιν, τῆς τύχης [...],  
 [...] δανιστᾶς τὸ εὐῆγ[ε]ις ποιήσασθαι καὶ [...]  
 [...]],[...], εγγείων καὶ εἰς [δέ]ι οἱ εὐχαριστήσομεν [  
 20 (m. 2) Αἱρήλιος Παπονόθη Αἱρήλιον ἐπιδέδω[κα.]  
 (m. 3) Αἱρήλιος Δωρόθεος Αἱρηγγίον ἐπιδέδωκα.

To Flavius Flavianus, *vir clarissimus*, [*praeses* (or, prefect of Egypt).] from Aurelius Papnuthis and Aurelius Dorotheus, both of us [sons of Aphynchis, from the brilliant and most brilliant] city of the cyryhnchites. [The laws.] O lord *praeses* (or, prefect), [offer shelter to] all men, but especially to us who live in modest circumstances. [Pressed as we are by our lack of means] we borrowed money to pay the holy taxes into the most sacred treasury, [thinking that we could] easily pay this back; but we suffered misfortune, and monetary losses beyond our expectations, and the moneylenders, [learning of our sudden poverty] which holds us in its grip, demanded [immediate return of the loans.] many as they are, until from the . . . to such a degree that we lack even the bare necessities (?) . . . because of the greed of the moneylenders, and [may even be forced] to leave our native city because of our straitened circumstances. For this reason we have of necessity presented this petition to you, laying [our case before you] so that you may have mercy . . . from Athanasius, *principalis* (?) . . . give (?) to the city, we . . . be fair to the moneylenders and . . . remain [in our native city] and be eternally grateful to us. (and hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Papnuthis, son of Aphynchis. (3rd hand) Presented by me, Aurelius Dorotheus, son of Aphynchis.'

<sup>1</sup> If ἡγεμόνη in 4 is right, and if Vandersleyen is correct in believing that that word could not be applied to the prefect of Egypt later than about AD 324 (*Chronologie*, 102), then Flavianus was *praeses Augustanniae* and [ἡγεμόνη] is expected at the end of this line. If he was none the less prefect, ἐπόντος Αλύβιοντος should be restored.

4 μετρίως ἔχοντας or μετρίους.

<sup>5</sup> The first word may be  $[\tau\acute{e}v]\lambda\alpha\zeta$ ,  $[\kappa\acute{r}\omega]\chi\omega\lambda\alpha\zeta$ , or the like; then probably  $[\beta\iota]\alpha\zeta\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$  or  $[\pi]\alpha\zeta\mu\epsilon\nu\iota$ . At the end of the line  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}$  is more likely than  $\pi\lambda\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\zeta\iota$ .

6-7 [οἱόμενοι | δύνα]θαι would give a satisfactory sense.

<sup>7</sup> Possible restorations include ἀπ[ὸ] τύχ[ης, ἀπ' [ἀ]τυχ[ήματος, and ἀπ[ό]τυχ[όντες]

8 ζημιῶ[ν, ζημιῷ[θέντες, ζημιῷ[σεις, vel sim.

<sup>16</sup> For the uncertainty about the meaning of *προπολιτευόμενος* see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 55–8.

18-19 For the thought cf. 3393 24-5, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς δυνηθῶμεν τοὺς πινακέντας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀδελα. It seems likely that the petition ends with the possibly the subjunctive should be read, dependent on ὅπως in line 15.

## 3395. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR GRAIN DELIVERED

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (back)

10 × 27 cm

27 July 371

A receipt for 35 artabas of wheat plus associated charges issued by a κυβερνήτης to Papnuthis and Dorotheus. It is not stated whether the grain was received from them in an official capacity, as taxes which they had themselves collected and here pass on for shipment downstream; or whether it was owed by them personally on land they owned themselves. All plausibility, however, is in favour of the first explanation: receipts for individual tax-payments should be made out by tax-collectors, not by boat-pilots.

On the other side is 3398.

Αὐρῆλος Θεωνάμιανος  
Παιδίου, κυβερνήτου πλοίου κληρ(ονόμων)  
'Ηρακλίου ἀπὸ λογιστῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)  
καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) 'Οξυρυνχιτῶν πόλεως  
5 Αὐρῆλοις Παπνοῦθις καὶ Δωρόθε-  
ος ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. μεματρη-  
με καὶ ἐναυβαλόμην παρ' ὑμῶν  
ὶς τὼ προκίμε[[μεργον]]νον πλοῖων  
ὑπὲρ γενήματος ιεξ ἵδικτιών  
10 νος cίτου καθαροῦ ἄρ[[γν]]τάβας  
τριάκοντα πέντα, (γύν.) (ἀρτ.) λε μό-  
νας, τούτων τὰ κούμηλα καὶ τὰ ναῦ-  
λα καὶ τὸ σακωφορικὸν πλήρης.  
(ἔτος) μζ̄ ιεζ̄ [[Ἐπ]] Μεσορή γ.  
15 Αὐρῆλος Θεωνάμιανος ὁ προκίμε-  
γος συμφωνὶ μοι ὡς πρόκι-  
τε. Αὐρῆλος Ἑλλάδιος Ἰουλιανοῦ  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα  
μῇ ἴδος.

<sup>1</sup> 1. Θεωνάμιανος    <sup>2</sup> Παιδίου corrected from Παιδίος; 1. κυβερνήτης; κληρονόμος    <sup>3</sup> λαμᾶς    <sup>4</sup> λαμᾶς  
5-6 1. Αὐρῆλοις Παπνοῦθις καὶ Δωρόθεῳ ἀδελφοῖς    <sup>6-7</sup> 1. μεμέτρημα    <sup>7</sup> 1. ἐναυβαλόμην; ὑμῶν  
8 1. εἰς τὸ προκέιμενον πλοῖον    <sup>11</sup> 1. πέντε    <sup>12</sup> 1. κούμηλα    <sup>13</sup> 1. σακωφορικὸν    <sup>15-16</sup> 1.  
Θεωνάμιανος ὁ προκέιμενος συμφωνεῖ    <sup>16-17</sup> 1. πρόκειται    <sup>17</sup> Ιουλιανοῦ    <sup>18</sup> ὑπὲρ    <sup>19</sup> ἴδος, c  
corrected from τ; 1. εἴδοτος

'Aurelius Theonammon, son of Paulus, skipper of a boat belonging to the heirs of Heraclius, former logistes of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to his brothers Aurelius Papnuthis

## 3395. SKIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR GRAIN DELIVERED

91

and Aurelius Dorotheus, greeting. I have had measured out and have embarked from you into the afore-mentioned boat, for the crop of the 15th induction, thirty-five artabas of clean wheat, == 35 art. only, the *cumuli* on these, and the shipping and portage fees, in full. Year 47 = 16, Mesore 3. I, the afore-mentioned Aurelius Theonammon, agree as stated. I, Aurelius Helladius, son of Julianus, wrote on his behalf, as he is illiterate.'

1-2 Θεωνάμιανος Παιδίον: or, less probably, Θέων Άμωνος Παιδίον, 'Theon, son of Amon, the son of Paulus'.

3 The logistes Heraclius has not appeared in any other documents published to date.

12 κούμηλα: two metrological documents define κούμηλον as  $\frac{1}{30}$  artaba (P. Lond. V 1718 and ZPE 15, 1974, 173-8). As a tax it appears only here, in ZPE 32 (1978) 255 (line 10), in P. Flor. I 75, 21, and perhaps in P. Cair. Goodspeed 14, 7 (BL I p. 173). A *cumulus* of  $\frac{1}{30}$  artaba was equal to the difference between a *modius* *xystus* and a *modius cumulatus*, so one might speculate that *cumuli* were charged when grain paid in by the first unit had been due in the second. While the use of *modii xysti* in Egypt is attested, however (see ZPE 24, 1977, 62-3), a requirement that grain taxes be paid in *modii cumulati* is not.

13 σακωφορικάν (l. σακκοφορικόν): only here and P. Cair. Goodsp. 14, 7, but P. Flor. I 75, 21 uses a synonym, σακκοφορικὸν μισθόν.

14 On the Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 36-42. This example is to be added to the table there on p. 40, along with another of the same year in ZPE 37 (1980) 213-14.

After the year, the scribe started to write the previous month 'Ἐπειδή before correcting himself.

## 3396. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO HIS PARENTS

44 5B.63/(57)a

18 × 28 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis writes home from Alexandria, where he has been sent by 'the landlord of Sarapammon and his associate' to receive a large sum of money on orders of the ήγεμόν, who in this archive can only be the *praeses Augustannicae*. Apparently the 'landlords' are active in government business of some kind: the background is not clear, but it may be worth noting the involvement of landlords in collecting taxes in 3400, and the suggestion made in the introduction there that Papnuthis' landlord may have been serving as *praepositus pagi* at the time. In Alexandria Papnuthis' cash-in-hand has dwindled to 47,500 denarii, a very modest sum for the period.

Papnuthis' main concern in writing, however, seems to be centred around certain 'pledges', ἐνέχυρα. A banker has been instructed to see that his parents get the money for these, and Papnuthis is anxious to assure himself that they have in fact received it. One recalls the brothers' difficulties with creditors in 3393-4, but there is no necessary connection between the loans mentioned there and the pledges here.

The letter gives some striking examples of terms of family relationships used simply to express friendship or respect. From other texts we know that the Aphynchis and Maria whom Papnuthis addresses as father and mother were in fact his parents, but the closing lines greet an additional 'mother' and two more 'fathers'. One 'brother' besides Dorotheus, however, could of course be a real sibling, as could the four 'sisters'. The names *Eὐηθίς* (24) and *Ταῖιλβάνης* (27) are not found in the *NB* or the *Onomasticon*.

κυρίω μου πατρὶ Ἀφνυχίῳ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ μου μητρὶ

Μαρίας Παπνοθίου χαίρειν.

προπηγουμένους εύχομαι τῇ θίᾳ προνοίᾳ φ[ε]γ[ν]όντας και καὶ ὀλοκληροῦντας  
και εὐθυμοῦντα {κοι} ἀποδοθῆναι [[και]] ὑμεῖν τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. ποσάκεις

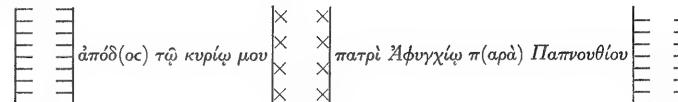
5 ἔγραψα ὑμεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐναιχύρων ἑκείνων καὶ οἰδὲ  
φάσις οὐδὲ βάσις. περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐναιχύρων καὶ νῦν γράψω  
ὑμεῖν· ὁ γάρ {ς} γεοῦχος Σαραπάμμωνος ἔγραψεν πρὸς Εὐδαίμωνος  
Θεοδώρου τραπέζῃ[τηρ] παραχθῆναι ὑμεῖν τὰ ἀργύριων.  
εἰ μὲν οἴδαται ὅτι ἐλάβεται τὰ ἀργύριων παρὰ Εὐδαίμωνος, ἀντι-  
10 γράψαται μοι· εἰ μὲν οἴδαται πάλειν ὅτι οὐκ αἴδωκεν ὑμεῖν  
τὰ ἀργύριων, γράψαται μοι καὶ ποιήσει ἐν νομιμούματι  
ἡδη ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἐναιχθῆναι ὑμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσηται  
μὴ γράψασθαι μοι. γώνοςκε δὲ ὑμᾶς θέλο ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
εἰμὲν μόνος μετὰ δηναρίων μυριάδος ταλάντων εἴκοσι  
15 πέντα. δὴ γενεμῶν ἔγραψεν πρὸς τῶν γεοῦχων  
Σαραπάμμωνος καὶ τῷ<sup>ν</sup> κοινωνῷ<sup>ν</sup> αὐτοῦ ἀρθῆναι ἐπεὶ τῆς  
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀργυρίων δηναρίων μυριάδων  
ἐππάτη ἡμείους καὶ ἀπέστιλών μοι μετὰ τοῦ μέρως ἡμῶν  
καὶ παραμενῶμαι ἐπεὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔως ἔξωδιασθῶ αὐτὰ  
20 καὶ πάλειν ἀπέρχωμαι ἐπεὶ τῆς Αθριβειτῶν πόλεως.  
ἀπτάζομαι τῇ κυρίᾳ<sup>ν</sup> μοι σύμβιων Ἀπιάς, ἀπτάζομαι τῇ  
κυρίᾳ<sup>ν</sup> μοι ἀδελφὴν Τερρόθος, ἀπτάζομαι τῶν κυριών<sup>ν</sup> μοι ἀδελφῶν  
Γερότιος, ἀπτάζομαι τῶν δεσπότη<sup>ν</sup> μοι ἀδελφῶν Δωρόθεως,  
ἀπτάζομαι τῇ ἀδελφή<sup>ν</sup> μοι Εὐθύθει, ἀπτάζομαι τῇ  
25 κυρίᾳ<sup>ν</sup> μοι ἀδελφὴν τῇ Μικήνη, ἀπτάζομαι Χωοῖς καὶ τῇ<sup>ν</sup> σύμβιων  
αὐτοῦ Ἡράκλεων καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀπτάζομαι  
τῶν πατέρων μοι Ἀμμωνίων, ἀπτάζομαι Τασιλβάνεις  
καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀπτάζομαι τῶν πατέρων  
μοι Πετεμούνιος καὶ τῇ μητέραν μορι Ταήζεις

2 1. Μαρία, Παπνοθίς 3 1. προπηγουμένως, θεία, ὑγιαίνοντά ce 4 1. εὐθυμοῦντα, ποσάκις  
(for the construction of 3-4 see note ad loc.) 5 1. ἐνεργόρων 6 1. ἐνεχύρων 7 ὑμεῖν  
7-8 Εν τῷ Εὐδαίμων (read acc.) corrected from θεοί 8 and often, 1. τῷ ἀργύριον 9 1. οἴδατε,  
Ἐλάβετε, Εὐδαίμωνος, ἀντιγράψατε 10 1. οἴδατε πάλειν, ὑμαῖς; ὑμεῖν 11 1. γράψατε; ποιήσεις  
corrected from πόσος; 1. νομιμάτων 12 1. ἐνεχθῆναι, ἀμελήσητε 13 1. γινόσκειν, θέλω  
14. εἰμι 15 1. πέντε, τῶν γεοῦχον 16 1. τὸν κοινωνὸν, ἐπὶ 17 1. ἀργυρόν 18 1. ἡμίους,  
ἀπέστειλόν με, μέρος 19 1. ἐπὶ, ἐξοδιασθῶ 20 1. πάλιν, ἐπὶ 21 ff. 1. σύμβιον Ἀπιάδα,  
ἀδελφῶν, etc., with all names in the acc.

The following is written along the left margin:

30 καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτῆς τέκνα, ἀπτάζομαι τῇ κυρίᾳ<sup>ν</sup> μοι καὶ ἀδελφήν  
Παλλαδίης, ἀπτάζομαι πάντας  
κατ' ὄνομα τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς.

Back :



31 l. φιλοῦντας

To my lord father Aphynchis and my lady mother Maria, greeting from Papnuthis. First of all I pray to the Divine Providence that you are healthy and thriving and cheerful when my letter is delivered to you. How many times I have written to you about those pledges, and not a word, not a step. Now too I am writing about those same pledges, for Sarapammon's landlord has written to Eudaemon, Theodoreus' son, the banker, to have the money handed over to you. If then you know that you have received the money from Eudaemon, write me back. If, on the other hand, you know that he did not give you the money, write to me and he will have one solidus brought to you immediately in silver coins, but see that you don't neglect to write to me. I want you to know that I am by myself in Alexandria with a myriad of denarii and twenty-five talents. The *praises* wrote to Sarapammon's landlord and his associate to have seven and a half myriads of myriads of denarii [i.e., 750,000,000] received in Alexandria, and they sent me with our party. I shall stay in Alexandria till I am paid them, and then shall go away again to Athribis. I greet my lady wife Apias, I greet my lady sister Tereous, I greet my lord brother Gerontius, I greet my master brother Dorotheus, I greet my sister Euethis, I greet my lady sister Mikke, I greet Chouis and his wife Herakleia and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my father Ammonius (*or*, Ammonion), I greet Tasilbanis and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my father Petemoumios and my mother Taësis and her children, may the evil eye not touch them. I greet my lady and sister Palladia, I greet all those who love us by name. (back) Deliver to my lord father Aphynchis from Papnuthis.

3 Probably not φ[ε]γ[ν]όντα, as traces of the second *i* should be visible.

3-4 εὐχόματα : the construction is a contamination of two formulas, εύχομαι ὑγιαίνοντά ce ἀπλούστεν τὰ γράμματα and εὐχόματα ὑγιαίνοντί coi ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ γράμματα ; in addition, except for one correction in 4, the singular has been used absent-mindedly for the plural. A grammatical version would be προπηγουμένως εὐχόματι τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ ὑμῖν καὶ δοκιληροῦσι καὶ εὐθυμοῦντες ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα.

5-6 οὐδὲ φάσι οὐδὲ βάσις : this catchy expression sounds proverbial, but I have found no record of it elsewhere.

7 {ς} : presumably Papnuthis started to write Σαραπάμμων instead of γεοῦχος Σαραπάμμων.  
7-8 ἔγραψεν . . . παραχθῆναι : I take it that this means 'he wrote for the money to be supplied', parallel to ἔγραψεν . . . ἀρθῆναι in 15-16, not 'he wrote that the money had been supplied'.

12 δὲλλ' ὅρα : used without regard to the number of the subject, as in I 65 5.

16 It is not clear whether αὐτοῦ refers to Sarapammon or to his landlord.

18 Papnuthis cannot have been sent to Alexandria 'with our share' of the money, for it was only in Alexandria that he was to be paid that. I take it therefore that μέρος here means the group of persons who were sent on this business; cf. WB s.v. (2). Alternatively, μέρος might refer to the money, and μέρα mean 'in quest of' it, but this is very late for that sense of μέρα (LSJ s.v. C(2)), which should govern the accusative.

<sup>19</sup> παραμενάμαι: the use as a deponent is new.

<sup>25</sup> τὴν Μικέτην: or τὴν μικέτην, 'my little sister'. P. J. Parsons points out that the use of the article here, which is omitted before the names elsewhere, favours the second interpretation.

Chouït may be the *tabularius* of 3411.

<sup>27</sup> Ἀμμωνιον could stand for either Ἀμμώνιον or Ἀμμωνίων in this letter.

<sup>32</sup> Concerning the figures around the address, Dr Rea has been kind enough to provide the following note: 'Inked designs of this general type often occur in association with addresses. They are connected with the seal or tie which closed the letters. Dr R. A. Coles has pointed out in conversation that the centre of the design is always missing, and for this fact he has advanced the convincing explanation that the designs were drawn around and actually over the seals or ties, so that the parts that were not on the letter itself were removed when it was opened. The purpose of the designs was apparently to enable any unauthorized opening of the letters to be detected, since it would have been difficult to match the original freehand design on a new fastening or to replace the old fastening in exactly the right place.'

In this case experiment with a xerox copy of a photograph of 3396 has allowed us to conclude that the letter was folded up into a flat spill about 2 cm. wide and with a length equivalent to the full height of the sheet, 28 cm. The folding was done mostly by rolling from one side, but a single fold from the opposite direction ensured that both the side edges of the letter were hidden safely inside. Three ligatures were put around this spill, one near the middle, and one near each end. The designs were probably put on before the address, which was written on one side of the spill with one half neatly on either side of the central design. The designs were carried on round both sides of the spill. On either side of each ligature a continuous line parallel with it was drawn all round the spill. Each of these three pairs of parallel lines had linking strokes running across the ligature. At the ends the links were perpendicular to the parallels, in the middle they ran diagonally to give a pattern of diamonds. Now that the letter is unfolded the designs appear roughly rectangular in outline.

Other items in this archive have remains of a similar but less complicated method of fastening. There was only one central ligature round 3400 and 3409, which were made into full-length spills like 3396. Two others, 3408 and 3420, were folded horizontally to half their height before the spill was made and were then tied with a single central ligature.

It is perhaps even more common in addresses to find a saltire pattern, again interrupted at the centre, cf. e.g. XLIII 3094. This seems to be appropriate to the shape of a seal, rather than a tie, but that is not certain. Photographs of sealed papyrus letters are to be seen in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Taf. IV and L. Deuel, *Testament of Time*, Pl. I d. Nothing is visible in them of any ink designs. The seals are placed over ties, which are made of narrow strips of papyrus. Perhaps, since it would not be an easy matter to draw ink lines on a seal, the single saltire pattern was drawn over a tie at the place where a seal was to be attached but before it actually was attached. This is a guess only.'

### 3397. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(20-21)a+  
44 5B.63/(39-42)c

16 × 27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis was apparently stationed in Oxyrhynchus at the time he wrote this letter, and Dorotheus in the countryside; the latter is urgently requested to send up some money without delay, or, failing that, to send the comarchs from whom it should have been collected. The letter plainly falls in the time when the brothers were employed as assistants to the *praepositus pagi* and as such had armed guards at their disposal together with the authority to effect arrests; cf. 11–12 n.

The sums in question fall into three heads. (a) (1–12). Evidently a levy to hire workmen for some unspecified task had fallen to the village, and the comarchs, who were directly responsible to the *praepositus* and his staff, had not yet turned over the

### 3397. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

95

amount due. In the meantime, the apaitetai have been dunning Papnuthis for it, but his hands are already full with trying to raise a land-tax in gold (21–3). He therefore wants either the money or the comarchs sent to him to the nome capital, where, he says, he can force them to pay; cf. 3–4 and 11–12 nn. (b) (13–15). Some money simply called ἀργύρια is to be turned over to one Felix, who does not recur elsewhere. (c) (16–21). Whether to pay for the same workers or for some other purpose, Papnuthis had already advanced some money that was due from the comarchs. If Dorotheus has collected enough taxes by now to cover this sum, he is to send it: cf. the advances which the brothers speak of having made in 3393 and their expectations there too of regaining the money from the taxes to be collected; further 3394, 3419, and P. Osl. II 88. Otherwise, again, the comarchs are to be sent.

The back contains the following short account together with some other jottings now incomprehensible: Ἀπολλός γ[ο]ι[μισμάτων] a, <sup>2</sup> προδοχή Λάμασος διὰ [....]. (δημαρίων) (μιράδες) ρρε, <sup>3</sup> Παθάνι [νο]ι[μισμάτων] a, <sup>4</sup> Πονόδις δια .[....] (δην.) (μιρ.) φν, <sup>5</sup> Απολλός γ[ο]ι[μ.]. a, <sup>6</sup> Παθάνις (δην.) (μιρ.) [ <sup>7</sup> λόμματος (δην.) (μιρ.)[.]. <sup>8</sup> Άθνρ κδ' π(αρά) Αφοῖς [(δην.)] (μιρ.) τμλ'', <sup>9</sup> π(αρά) Γέμελος εὑ[μι]αχος (δην.) (μιρ.) ρι', <sup>10</sup> π(αρά) Ψεναυοῦνς (δην.) (μιρ.) ριβ'' και [(γάλ.)] Δωβ (?) <sup>11</sup> π(αρά) Κοπρέου (δην.) (μιρ.) ρν. The word προδοχή (2) has previously been reported only as a doubtful reading in P. Lond. V 1870. Here it is used parallel to προσδοχή in P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and may be a mistake for that word; cf. 9 note. It may also occur in one of the other jottings. There is a paragraphus after l. 6 and another after l. 11. μ[ον]αχος is an alternative to εὑ[μι]αχος in l. 9.

κυρίω μον ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέων  
Παποῦτις.

πολλάκις σοι ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ ἀναλόματος  
τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ οὐδέν μοι ἀπέστιλας·

5 μὰ τὸν γὰρ Θεὼν καθ' ἔκαστην ποιῶ μεγάλην  
ἀληθίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπαιτητῶν τούτου χάριν.  
ποιῶδαςον ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἀπόστιλον

τὸ ἀνάλωμα τῶν αὐτῶν ἐργατῶν οἶδας  
καὶ τοὺς τί ἐξ τῶν προσδοχῆς. ἐὰν γνοῖς ὅτι

10 οἱ κώμαρχοι οὐδὲ ηθέλησαν δοῦναι αὐτά,  
ἀπόστιλόν μοι τὸν κωμάρχας καὶ ποιῶ αὐ-  
τὸς πάντα πληρώσε ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως.

καὶ ποιῶδαςον τὰ ἀργύρια Φήλικι ἀποστίλαι  
ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἐν τούτ., γὰρ οὐ βλάπτη. μὴ

1 l. Δωροθέω  
14 l. τούτω  
4 etc. l. ἀπέστιλας  
5 l. Θεόν  
8 l. ἐργατῶν  
9 l. cō  
12 l. πληρώσαι

15 ἀφῆς ἡμῖς ἐν περιεστάσι τούτῳ[ν] χάριν.  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτον ἀ δέδωκα  
 ὑπ(ἐρ) τῶν κωμαρχῶν, επούδασον ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ἀπετήσεως ὅρν καὶ ἀποστῖλαι ἡ τοὺς  
 κωμάρχας ἀπόστιλον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 20 —οἶδες καὶ σοὶ τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως—καὶ τὰ  
 ἀναλώματα. καὶ κατάκλιστός είμι ἔνεκεν  
 τοῦ χρυσίου τῆς ἀρουρατίωνος καὶ ἔως  
 σήμερον οὐδὲν ἀπέτιλα. (m. 2 ?) ἐρρώσθαι cai εὔχο-  
 μαι πολλοῖς χρόν(οις).

15 1. περιεστάσι 16 1. ἀναλωμάτων 17 1. κωμαρχῶν 18 1. ἀπετήσεως, αἴρειν 20 1. cō  
 21 1. κατάκλιστός 23 1. εε

To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I have written to you many times about the expense of the workers and you have sent me nothing; now by God I have great unpleasaness with the collectors every day on account of this. Make haste to send me the expense of the same workers today; you know yourself what financial obligation is. If you know that the comarchs have refused to turn over these (sums), send me the comarchs and I shall make them pay them all in the city. And hasten to send the money to Felix today, for in this you will suffer no disadvantage. Do not leave us in need on this account. And concerning the expenses which I advanced on behalf of the comarchs, make haste to raise them from the collection and send them, or send the comarchs to the city—you know yourself the bad things in the city—and the expense. And I am locked in because of the gold for the land tax and up to today you have sent me nothing. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν: possibly ἀναλώματος was miswritten as ἀναλώμάτον or ἀναλωμάτον. Egyptian villages of the fourth century were sometimes required to present contributions to the support of workers in government service, and this money was collected by higher authorities from the comarchs, ἀναλώματος τῶν ἐργατῶν seems to have occurred before in this connection only in CPR VI 5, 5, where the phrase is partly restored, but cf. ὑπέρ μέρους<ε> ἐργατῶν . . . καὶ ὑπέρ τροφέων in P. Hib. II 220. 5-6; further P. Théad. 34-36, P. Flor. III 346, BGU XII 2134 with introd.; H. Missler, *Der Komarch* (dissert. Marburg 1970) 94-5 and 111; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. ἐργατία.

5 καθ' ἔκστην: sc. ἡμέραν; cf. WB, s.v. ἔκστης.

9 προσδοχῆ: the only real parallel to this usage seems to be IX 1223 25-8 τοσαύτας γάρ προσδοχὰς χρηστοῦμεν, καὶ οὐκέτι πιστεύομεν, ἐὰν μὴ εὐγνωμονίσουμεν; cf. further P. Tebt. I 209 and III 1092, and perhaps προσδοχῆ cited in the introduction to this text.

11-12 ποιοι ἀντούς πάντα πληρώεις: cf. in this connection the imprisonment of comarchs in 3409 and the orders to employ torture in 3430, though the latter may not be meant literally.

13 τὰ ἀργύρια: this money is different from that for the workers, since Papnuthis reckons with the possibility that the latter had still to be collected from the comarchs, while this already lies at Dorotheus' immediate disposal.

20 τὰ κακὰ τῆς πόλεως: the prison, for example; cf. 11-12 n.

20-1 καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα: if the punctuation printed above is correct, these words are direct object of ἀπόστιλον and the οἶδες clause is parenthetical. This would be in keeping with Papnuthis' lively style, but one might also take ἀναλώματα as the object of οἶδες, 'you know the bad things of the city and (the amount of) the expenses.'

21 κατάκλιστός είμι: cf. P. Tebt. II 420, 26, P. Amh. II 80, 4, XLIII 3104, and 3409. It seems odd, however, that Papnuthis should mention his being locked up for the land tax only at the end of a letter in which his principal concern is to recover outlays made for another purpose, and odd also that

### 3397. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

he expects to be able to coerce the comarchs into paying if he is imprisoned himself at the time. Perhaps he means merely that he is too busy to get away.

22 ἀρουρατίωνος: this word will now have to be read in P. Lips. 62 ii 20, where the editor printed χρυσοῦ ἀρουρα., οὐος; cf. Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 217. Otherwise it has occurred only in P. Caire. Masp. III 67329 ii 8.

23-4 The closing formula is written so quickly as to have little resemblance to the script of the body of the letter, but it is not unlikely that both are the work of Papnuthis himself.

### 3398. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(9-10)a (front)

10×27 cm

Fourth century

Papnuthis has heard that one Eutrygius has sent to Dorotheus concerning some men from Syron Kome. If Dorotheus meets him, he is to let him know that Papnuthis has already petitioned the prefect about the matter, but no final answer has yet been given. He is further to try to bring him to terms with their landlord Diogenes. Diogenes may be the landlady's 'brother' mentioned in 3407 11, and is conceivably identical with the writer of 3415-16 as well. Eutrygius does not occur elsewhere in the archive.

On the other side is a receipt dated to AD 371, 3395; cf. 9 n.

κυρίῳ μον ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέου  
 Παπνοῦθις.  
 Ἐλθὼν Πανεχώτης πρὸς  
 μαὶ καὶ εἰπέν μοι ὅτι ἔπειμψε  
 5 Εὐτρύγιος πρὸς cai περὶ τῶν  
 ἀπὸ κάμης Σύρων. ἐὰν μά-  
 θῃς ὅτι ἡθέλησεν πρὸς cē  
 λέγων εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐνέτυχα  
 τῷ δεσπότῃ μον τῷ ἐπάρχον  
 10 περὶ τούτου. ἐκέλευσεν Πτολε-  
 μαίῳ τῷ πολιτευομένῳ  
 τῆς Κυνῶ ἀκροῦσε τὸ πρᾶγμα  
 καὶ ἀναφορὰν πεποίηκεν  
 ἵνα αὕτις ἀπητήσω  
 15 πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ κυρίου μον  
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου.  
 καὶ ἀπελθε πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον

1 1. Δωροθέῳ  
 14 iiia; 1. ἀπαντήσω

4 1. μὲ

5 1. cē

8 1. λέγειν

9 1. ἐπάρχῳ

12 1. ἀκροῦσαι

ημῶν Διογένην. ποίησον  
αὐτὸν ὄμλησε Εὐτρυγίᾳ  
καὶ ἀντίγραφόν μοι τί πεπού-  
ηκες πρὸς αὐτούς.

ἔρρωσθαι σε εὑχομαι πολλοῖς  
χρόνοις, κύριε ἅδελφε.

19 l. ὄμλησαι 20-21 l. πεπούκας

To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. Panechotes came to me and told me that Eutrygius sent to you about the men from Syron Kome. If you learn that he wanted to speak to you, tell him that I petitioned my lord the prefect concerning this matter. He ordered Ptolemaeus, the councillor of Cynopolis, to hear the affair, and he made a report that I should again approach his excellency my lord the most glorious prefect. And go to our landlord Diogenes. Make him talk with Eutrygius and write back to me what you have done as far as they are concerned. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

9 ἐπάρχον (l. -ω): the more extended formulation in 15-16 makes it as good as certain that this means the *praefectus Aegypti* and not, for example, some military prefect.

The other side of this text contains a tax receipt from AD 371 (3395) written across the fibres, while 3398 is written parallel to them. If this were sufficient indication that 3398 was the earlier text, then it would offer us the first reasonably clear instance of direct appeal to the prefect of Egypt rather than the *praeses Augustanniae* by a resident of that province: for there is virtually no chance that the letter pre-dates the creation of Augustanniae in AD 341, and the province continued to exist as late as 373 (XLVI 3308; for the little that is known of the prefect's authority in provinces under *praesides* see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, Coll. Latomus 55, Brussels, 1962, pp. 110-14; 3308 7 n.). However, 3395 may be earlier than 3398, and that would allow the latter to have been written after the reunion of Augustanniae with Aegyptus: other examples in this archive of writing across the fibres in the earlier of two texts, or in cases where the other side was left blank, are 3385, 3387-8, 3390-1, 3404, 3406, 3412, 3427. Only in 3412 is a *collema* preserved, one showing that the traditional *recto* side was used first in that instance. Cf. further P. Tebt. I 41 introd.

11 τῷ πολυτελέμῳ τῆς Κινώ: this phrasing is possible only if Κινώ designates a city with a βουλή, in this case Cynopolis: for the form of the name see e.g. H. Gauthier, *Les noms d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1935) pl. I no. 12, pl. II no. 13. If Papnuthis' petition to the prefect involved conflicting claims of Oxyrhynchite officials, then a Cynopolite may have been chosen as arbitrator in expectation that he would be more impartial than a native of Oxyrhynchus. But links between the two nomes appear to have been so close that an opposite explanation also deserves consideration, namely that Cynopolite interests could have been directly involved in the case. Cf. 3423 12 n.

12 ἀκρόατε: apart from an unhelpful entry in the *EM* s.v. ἀκροῶ this active form has not been known before. Cf. Du Cange on ἀκροωτα, 'auditores, qui causis cognoscendis praesunt'. One could of course read ἀκροᾶς(θ)ε. F. Gignac cites only one example of the loss of θ after ε (ἔρρωσθεθα, VII 1069 34, *Phonology* p. 98), but the corresponding loss of τ is well known (*ibid.* 66-7).

## 3399. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63(86-87)b

11·5×28 cm

Fourth century

A note from Papnuthis to his brother, informing him of the safe receipt of various sums of money. These may have been dispatched by Dorotheus himself from taxes collected in the country; cf. e.g. 3397.

The back is blank.

κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέῳ  
Παπνοῦθις.

γιγνώσκων σε βούλομαι ὅτι ὑπεδεξάμην  
ταρὰ Ἰσιδώρου ἐπὶ τῇ πόλεως ἀργυρίου  
5 δηναρίουν μυριάδας μυριάδων μίαν  
καὶ μυριάδας χιλίας διακοσίας πεντήκον-  
τα, (γίνονται) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδας) (μυριάδων) αἱστην καὶ δι(ά) τοῦ  
φύλακος  
νομις(μάτια) ἔξι καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.) (μυρ.) αἱστην φύλακος.  
ἔρρωσθαι σε εὑχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις,  
10 κύριε ἅδελφε.

4 Ἰσιδώρου 5 l. δηναρίουν μυριάδα 7 / \* 100, δι- 8 νομις, αργυρ/ \* 100

To my lord brother Dorotheus, Papnuthis. I want you to know that I received from Isidorus in the city one myriad of myriads and one thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of silver denarii, = 112,500,000 denarii, and through the guard six solidi and 165,000,000 silver denarii. I pray for your health for many years, lord brother.'

2 For γιγνώσκειν vs. γινόσκειν see Gignac, *Phonology*, 176.

## 3400. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO HIS LANDLORD

44 5B.63/(43-45)a

11·5×25 cm

c. 359-65

Papnuthis informs his γεοῦχος of various problems connected with collections in the village of Berky: the grain was full of barley, the measure available appears to have been of the wrong size, despite the villagers' protestations to the contrary, and two men who should have assisted have refused to do so. Papnuthis reports that a *praepositus* carrying out the collection with the help of soldiers was having no difficulty and asks whether he should follow that official's procedure.

Problems of this sort suggest that the grain Papnuthis was to collect was above all or exclusively for taxes, not simply rents due to his landlord, and indeed the list of

responsible persons had been furnished him by a municipal scribe of Oxyrhynchus, a circumstance which again points to public rather than private concern. The question then arises whether Papnuthis' landlord was personally responsible for these dues in his capacity as *possessor*, in which case he must have owned extensive territory about the village; or whether he was not in fact acting by virtue of some office which Papnuthis does not name, a view which his implied authority to commandeer soldiers very strongly favours. A combination of both grounds is not unthinkable, but the reference to 'the other *praepositus*' in 23 is most easily understandable if 'the landlord' for whom Papnuthis works was a *praepositus* too. Cf. 3396 introd.

The papyrus is in places torn and badly rubbed. A regrettably high number of passages remain obscure. As the letter was found among the papers of this archive, it was evidently never delivered. The approximate date is taken from other texts which mention a *praepositus* named Eulogius (30; cf. 3393 with introd. and note to line 20).

κυρίῳ μου γεούχῳ Παπνούτις

χαίρειν.

καθὼς ἐκέλευτάς μοι ἀπαυτῆσε εἰς Βερκὺ ἵνα  
παραλάβω τὸν σῖτων αὐτῶν, εὑρὸν δὲ τὸν σῖτον  
5 αὐτῶν ἐκ <κ>ριθῶν οὐκ ἔδυνήθην ὑποδέξεις> ἄχρις  
λάβω παρὰ σοῦ ὥρον περὶ τούτου. τὰ δὲ ὄνόματα  
ἀπέρ δεδώκεν ἡμῖν διγραμμ[α]τεύς τῆς πόλεως  
εὐρήθησαν διαφέρων τοῦ Ψινούρ καὶ Πραούς.  
οὐκ ἡθέλησεν διγραμμ[α]τεύς μεθ' ἡμῶν  
10 τὰ ὄνόματα διαφέρωντα τῷ Π[ρ]αού, λέγων δὲ  
οὐκ ἔχω πρόγραμμα, οὐδὲ καὶ [δ]ι Πραούς οὐκ θίλ-  
θεν ἀπαυτῆσε αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἡμῶν, λέγων  
δὲ τοῦ σχολάζω. καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέτρο[ο]υ [α]ὐτῷ  
μηδαμ[α] εἰς καθὼς ὑποβάλλουνται αὐτοὶ δὲτοι ἵσον  
15 ἔ[ε]τον τοῦ κα[ρ]κέλου τῷ δημοσίου. μάθε δὲ δέτι δι πρε-  
πόσιτος αὐτῶν τη. [ c. 13 ]..[.]γεκεν ἐρχό-  
μενος ἐτραπιώτας της.[.....], καὶ ἀπετί αὐτοὺς  
ώς βούλετε. λυπόν, γράψον μοι [ει] θέλεις με ὑπο-  
δέξει περὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τοῦ μέτρου. τινὲς φύτων

3 1. ἀπαυτῆσαι (for ἀπήντησαι); ἵνα	4 1. σῖτον, εὑρὼν	5 1. αὐτῶν; ὑποδε	6 1. δρον
7 1. γραμματεύς	8 1. εἰρθή διαφέροντα τῷ, Πραού	9 1. ἀπαυτῆσαι	10 1. διαφέροντα
11 πραγμα'	12 1. ἀπαυτῆσαι; θη of μεθ' ἡμῶν corrected	14 ἱσον	15 1. δημοσίου
15-16 1. πραπόσιτος	17 1. ἀπαυτέλ αὐτούς	18 1. βούλεται, λυπόν, θέλεις	18-19 ὑποδέξει,
1. ὑποδέξαι	19 1. αὐτῶν		

#### 3400. LETTER FROM PAPNUTHIS TO HIS LANDLORD

101

- 20 λέγουσιν δὲτο δενου μέτρησον, ἐὰν δὲ εὔρομεν  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀγράμμορες, λαμβάνομεν καὶ ἡμίς  
ἐτραπιώτας καὶ β. ελεύομεν αὐτούς. εἰ μὲν θέλεις,  
ώς καὶ δ ἔτερος πρεπόσιτος ὑποδέχῃ, καὶ ἡμίς ὑπο-  
δέξομεν. ἀντίγραφών μοι ἐν τάχι ώς βούλη.  
25 ποίησον δὲ τὸ δεσπότης ν> μρη γεούχων> Εὐλόγιων  
γράψαι τῷ Ψινούρ ἀπίλας πολλάς. εἰ μὲν δύνα-  
σαι ἀπαντῆσαι ἐνταῦθα ἔτημι π[ρ]αγμα πόθη-  
[....]ν. ἐρρώσθαι σοι [εύχο]μαι, κ[ύριε μου] γεούχω.

Postscript on the back:

- δι βωηθός Απολλωνίου ἀρχὴν ἔβραλε....ε.....λ..του μέτρου δὲ ἐ-  
30 μέτρησεν Εὐλόγιος πραιπόσιτος τῆς ἡμάν παλι. μεριδὸς καὶ δ θέλις μες  
νηποδέξει τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ἵνα π[α]ραδῷ τῷ [β]ω[ηθώ] Απολλω[νίο]ν καθὼς  
κελεύ[ει]  
ἀντίγραφόν μοι· οὕτως γάρ καὶ δ βωηθός Απολλωνίου συνέθετο μετ' αὐτοῦ  
καὶ χίραν  
αὐτῷ ἐπιδέδωκεν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ὄρους. δ γραμματεοὺς δὲ τῆς κώμης Βερκύ  
διεστέλλεν  
μοι τὰ ὄνόματα καθὼς πρὸ τοῦ τελοῦντες.

Address:

- 35 ἀπόδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότῃ μον (design) γε[ο]ύχω.

- |                         |                        |                                               |                           |                                     |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 21 1. ἀγράμμονας, ἡμίς  | 22 1. θέλεις           | 23 1. πραιπόσιτος; ὑποδέχῃ, 1. ὑποδέχει, ἡμίς |                           |                                     |
| 24 1. ἀντίγραφον, τάχει | 25 1. γεούχον Εὐλόγιον | 26 1. ἀπειλάς                                 | 27 1. ἀπαντῆσαι; π[ρ]αγμα |                                     |
| 28 1. εε, γεούχη        | 29 1. βοηθός, ώς       | 30 1. ει θέλεις                               | 31 1. ὑποδέξαι, βοηθός    | 32 1. βοηθός,                       |
|                         |                        |                                               | χείρα                     | 33 1. δροις, γραμματεύς, διεστέλλεν |

"To my lord landlord, greeting from Papnuthis. I went to Berky to receive their grain just as you instructed me, but as I found that their grain consisted of barley I could not accept it before getting a ruling from you about it. The names which the municipal scribe gave us were discovered to fall under the jurisdiction of Psiour and Praous. Psiour did not want to collect with us the names which fall to Praous, saying "It's none of my business", and Praous also did not go to make the collection from them with us, saying "I haven't time". And concerning their measure . . . just as they submit that it is equal to the public *cancellus*. And you should know that their *praepositus* . . . (brought) soldiers when he came . . . and he collects from them as he pleases. In short, write to me about the grain and the measure if you want me to accept them. Some of them are saying, ". . . measure it, and if we find any of them who refuse to pay we too shall take soldiers and command (?) them." If you want, we too shall accept delivery on the same terms as the other *praepositus* does; write me back your wishes quickly. And make my lord landlord Eulogius write many threats to Psiour. If you can come here, there will be a piece of business to propose (?). I pray for your health, my lord landlord. (*Postscript*): Apollonius' assistant has begun . . . the measure in the same way as Eulogius, the *praepositus* of our . . . district did the measuring, and if you want me to accept delivery with the same measure so that I can turn (the grain) over to

Apollonius' assistant as he bids, write to me; for Apollonius' assistant agreed with him in that way and gave him a contract on those terms, but the scribe of the village Berky sent me the names just as they had been paying previously. (*Address*): Deliver to my master the landlord.'

3 ἀπαντήσει (l. -αι) is evidently a usage of the 'imperative infinitive' discussed by Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff., esp. § 763; though none of the examples he cites is altogether parallel to the passage here. The sentence would read more smoothly if ἀπάντησα had been written.

4 αὐτῶν: i.e., the inhabitants of Berky.

5 ἐκ <ἀκρύθων: one could also interpret the letters as a misspelling of ἀκρύθων, but Papnuthis would hardly have hesitated to accept οἶνος on the ground that there was no barley in it: in the course of the fourth century οἶνος came to mean wheat as opposed to barley, and it was a normal requirement that wheat be delivered free of barley. See H. Cadell, *Münch. Beitr.* 66 (1974) 64-5 and *WB*, s.v. ἀκρύθων.

7 γραμματέως: the spelling is clear in l. 33; see Gignac, *Phonology*, 230-1. This seems much too late for the γραμματέως as discussed by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917) 160 ff. Possibly we are to see in this γραμματέως the secretary of the city council of Oxyrhynchus, elsewhere called κρείβας. The discussion in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 39-41 does not indicate that that official had access to tax rolls, but considering the activity of the council in tax matters it would seem almost inevitable that he would have had.

8 Psinour and Praous do not occur elsewhere in the archive, and their position is hard to determine. The fact that the names on the collection list 'belonged' or 'appertained' to them plainly did not mean that Papnuthis was freed of responsibility for collecting from the persons listed, but only that he could normally have expected help in doing so. One might think of tax office assistants with somewhat less authority than Papnuthis himself but not directly under his direction, or perhaps of such village officials as comarchs. Papnuthis believed that another landlord of his could intimidate Psinour into working (26), but that does not bring us very far.—The name Psinour is not found in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

14 μάλα, εἰς: the word-division is presumably μάλα μ. εἰς or μάλα' αμ. εἰς; the sense may be 'you know well' or 'understand well' (imperative). -εἰς suggests a second person singular or an aorist passive construing with μάλε, but no suitable word occurs to me, μαθεῖς is not a very likely form, and is palaeographically unconvincing as well. μανθάνεις may have been meant, but it was not written.

15 κα<γ>κελλου: this designation for the official grain measure at Oxyrhynchus is attested from the early first century AD (XII 1447 4 n.) until late into the Byzantine period. The fullest recent sketch of Egyptian grain measures is by R. P. Duncan-Jones in *Chiron* 9 (1979) 347-75.

15-18 ὁ πρεπόσιτος αὐτῶν . . . ἀμετ̄ αἴροις ὡς βούληρε: compare the charge laid against the comarchs of Caranis in a petition to the prefect of Egypt, ἀν[α]γρίας (l. -εις) πενολόγραι ὡς βούλονται, said to have been possible because of the collaboration of the *praepositus pagi* (P. Cair. Isid. 73-5). In this papyrus, however, there is no obvious implication of wrong-doing. I presume that 'their *praepositus*' means the *praepositus* of the *pagus* in which Berky was located; cf. 3425 6-7 n. and 30 below.

16 As a word to govern γρατώνας in 17 must somewhere be read it is possible that the end of the lacuna should be interpreted as η̄γε<γ>κει or a compound of that verb. Omission of γ before κ is common (Gignac, *Phonology* p. 116), and this papyrus has another example of the phenomenon in κα<γ>κελλου, 15. For the employment of soldiers in collecting taxes see R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1963), esp. pp. 60-2.

19 φύνοι apparently refers to other persons in Papnuthis' party.

20 δενου: perhaps for δένρο, 'come', but probably the pen-stroke needed to change these letters to δένον was omitted by accident.

έαν . . . εὑρομεν: it would be easy to correct to εὑρωμεν, as Papnuthis is wholly indifferent to the distinction between ο and ω, but the indicative may be right; cf. 3417 17 n.

22 β. ελεύθερον: perhaps {β} κελεύθερον. The stray β seems odd in that case, but the scribe may have started to write βιαζόμενα.

23-4. ὑποθέλην and ὑποθέλημεν must come from an active by-form of ὑποθέχομαι.

26 Both Psinour and Praous had refused to assist Papnuthis, but only Psinour is to receive a warning. If this is not sheer forgetfulness on the part of Papnuthis, it indicates that Praous' grounds for refusal were acceptable and Psinour's were not (ll. 10-13).

27-8 Perhaps ὑποθῆ[ι] [cei]ν in the sense of 'propose', though the supplement seems a bit short.

29 The thought appears to be 'Apollonius' assistant has begun to collect with the available measure, just as Eulogius did'.

30 πᾶλη seems unavoidable if Ἀ is correct, but the word-order would be strange. Not πᾶλη, 'our former division'.

32 αὐτὸς: probably Apollonius, conceivably Eulogius.

33 For the other late references to village γραμματές see XIX 2235 11 n., P. Cair. Isid. 68. 9 and 71. 10.

34 δύναματα . . . τελοῦντες: the names are plainly those of taxpayers, so τελοῦντες is construed ad sensum. Apparently Papnuthis means that some comparatively recent change in the taxation rate or procedure had not yet found its way into the village rolls: it may be connected with the question of which measure was to be used.

35 The roughly drawn and much damaged design looks like a tall rectangle with three or four extra horizontals linking the long sides. It marks the place where the letter would have been tied and possibly sealed, cf. 3396 32 n.

### 3401. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(82-85)

8×10.5 cm

Fourth century

Dorotheus thanks his brother for the information that solidi might be had favourably from a certain Alexandrian. The tip has proved correct, and he now asks for money with which to buy some quickly, as a rumour that the *aurum tironicum* (cf. 3424 9 n.) is soon to be collected has created a special demand for gold coins and the price is rising daily.

On the back, written across the fibres, is a now almost wholly illegible letter which begins κυρίω μ[ον] ἀδελφῷ Παπνούθιῳ Δωρόθεος χαίρειν.

κ[α]λώς ἔγραψά μοι περὶ τ[ῶν]  
γραμματίου· ἐξήγειρα γάρ κ[αὶ]  
5 [εἰ]δρον τὴν ποσότηταν παρὰ  
τ[ῷ] Μιεξανδρεῖ ἐν (δημαρχίων) (μυριάδων) Άτν[ ?]  
[επο]ύδ[ι]ασον οὖν ἀπόστιλόν  
μ[ε]ιοι τὸ κέρμα ἐν τῇ αὔριον, ἐ-  
10 [πε]ιπερ γέγονεν φήμη περὶ<sup>1</sup>  
το[ρ] χρυσοῦ τῶν τιρόνων κα[τ]  
π[ά]ντες ζητεῖ νομιμού[τ]ια  
καὶ καθ[η]τέονται οὐδὲν ή  
τιμή. ἀλλὰ ἐν τάχι ἀπόστιλον  
[τό] κέρμα ἵνα ἀγοράσομ[εν]

4 l. νομιματῶν 6 l. Άλεξανδρεῖ 7 l. ἀπόστειλον 10 l. τιρόνων 11 l. ζητοῦσι  
12 l. ἀναβαίνει 13 l. τάχει, ἀπόστειλον 14 ἵνα; l. ἀγοράσωμεν

To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. You did well to write to me about the solidi, for I inquired and found the quantity with the Alexandrian at 1,350 (+ ?) myriads of denarii. Make haste therefore to send me the money tomorrow, seeing that there has been a rumour about the gold for the recruits and everyone is looking for solidi and the price is going up every day. But send me the money quickly so that we can buy . . .

5 [ε]ψροι rather than ηψροι is the standard form in this archive. Cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 266 (9).  
5–6 παρά | [τῷ] Ἀλεξανδρεῖ: instead of τῷ it might be possible to read a short name, e.g. παρά ['H]α[ρά] Α., but the text is more probable.

6 One more figure may have been lost at the end of the line, but in any case a price between 1,350 and 1,359 myriads of denarii. To judge from the few other rates quoted in this archive or other plainly contemporary texts, this is a very low figure: cf. 2,250 myriads in P. Osl. III 88. 19 and 3426 3, 2,020 myriads in IX 1223 29 ff., 2,000 myriads in P. Osl. III 162 (see 3402 4–5 n.). 3429 18 is still lower, working out to 1,245 myriads; but the same account also records a price of 3,245 myriads (24). For more general treatments of gold prices, see West and Johnson, *Currency* 158–70; R. Rémondon, *CÉ* 32 (1957) 130–46; J. Rea, *CÉ* 49 (1974) 163–74; XLIII 3121. Some more prices are cited in the Vienna texts published in *ZPE* 22 (1976) 97–106, which are apparently rather earlier than our archive. Cf. further the article ‘Currency in the Fourth Century and the Date of CPR V 26’ in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111–24.

12–13 ἀναβένη ἡ [τι]μή: cf. IX 1223 32 for the corresponding use of καταβάλνω for falling prices.

#### 3402. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(68–69)b (back)

11 × 12·5 cm

Fourth century

The chief interest of this note from Dorotheus informing his brother that he has sent him some money under guard is the definition of μονάδα in its rare use as a monetary term. On palaeographical grounds alone the reading is unfortunately ambiguous, but the choice rests between a myriad of denarii and a myriad of myriads. Only the last makes economic sense; cf. 4–5 n. On the other side is 3421.

κυρίου μου ἀδελφῷ  
Παπνούθις Διωρόθεος χαί[ρειν].  
ἀπέστηλα δὲ(ὰ) τοῦ φύλακος  
χρυσὸν νο(μιζμάτια) δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίον  
5 μονάδαν μία[ν], (δημαρίων) (μυριάδων ?) (μυριάδα) α, καὶ  
φρο( ) Ἀλέξανδρος (δημαρίων) (μυριάδας), ε.  
ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι  
π[ο]λλοῖς λλοῖς χρόνοις.

1. κυρίῳ 2. 1. Παπνούθιος; χαί[ρειν] 3. 1. ἀπέστηλα; δὲ 4. νο 5. \*Ω Ω 6. \*Ω Ω

To my lord brother Papnuthis, greeting from Dorotheus. I have sent by agency of the guard 4 solidi in gold and one unit of silver, 1 myriad of myriads [i.e., 100,000,000] denarii, and by agency of the guard Alexandrus (?) 5,000 myriads of denarii. I pray for your health for many years.’

4–5 ἀργυρίου μονάδαι: μονάδα as a monetary unit has previously occurred in the papyri only in P. Osl. III 162, 3 and 6 and IX 1223 31. In the first of these texts, six μονάδες were used to purchase

#### 3402. LETTER FROM DOROTHEUS TO PAPNUTHIS

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thirty solidi. West and Johnson suggested on that basis that the μονάδα was ‘apparently a pound of silver bullion . . . indicating a ratio of gold to silver of 1 to 14.4’ (*Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Princeton, 1944, p. 131). The other text gives no clue to the meaning, but ours restates the sum in myriads of denarii. Regrettably, the papyrus is broken away immediately after the denarius sign: the trace which I have interpreted as the remnant of (μυριάδων) could also, though somewhat less well, be explained as a descending central cross stroke from (θυραῖον). But if a μονάδα were no more than a single myriad, as that view would require, then P. Osl. 162 (which is almost certainly part of this archive) would show solidi being sold at only 2,000 denarii apiece. As that is approximately a ten-thousandth of the expected price at the period (cf. 3401 6 n.), only the reading printed is plausible.

6 φρο( ) Ἀλέξανδρος: perhaps φρο(υρός) Ἀλέξανδρος, i.e. διὰ τοῦ φρουροῦ Ἀλέξανδρον.

7 ἔρρωσθαι εὐχομαι: some other examples of this formula without εε or ὕψα are collected in F. Ziemann, *De epistularum graecarum formulis sollempnibus quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Halle, 1910) 336 n. 1.

#### 3403. LETTER FROM MARIA TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(35–38)b

10 × 26 cm

Fourth century

A rather whiny letter to Papnuthis from his mother, complaining of neglect and asking for money. The hand is crabbed and difficult to decipher.

κυρίῳ μου νιᾶ [Πα]πνούθιῳ  
ἡ μήτηρ Μαρία πλεῖστα χαίρειν.  
πάλιν ἐνέμενας τῇ ἀμέλεᾳ τῇ σῇ καὶ  
οὐκ ἔπειψάς μοι φίλα[τε]ν περὶ δύν  
5 τοι ἐνετιλάμεθα, κ[αλ]ῶσι οὖν ποιή-  
σης πέμψαι μοι τ[ὰ] ἀργύρια. καὶ ἡ σὴ<sup>5</sup>  
cύμβιος λέγι καὶ αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἀποστέληται  
αὐτῇ ἀργύρια εἰς μισθώσι τῶν  
λαναρίων. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελῆται καὶ  
10 διὰ ταχέων πέμψῃς αὐτά. σπου-  
δασον γράψαι ὅμην περὶ τοῦ  
ἔργου. ἔρρωσθαι σε  
πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
εὐχομαι.

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

3 1. ἐνέμενες 5 1. ἐνετιλάμεθα 7 1. λέγει, ἀποστέλλεται 8 με corrected from λαν  
11. ἡμῖν

To my lord son Papnuthis from his mother Maria, greeting. You have again been persisting in your neglect and have sent me no word concerning the matters I instructed you about. Therefore please send me the money. Your wife too says herself that you should send her money for the wages of the wool-workers. Do not be negligent, but send it quickly. Make haste to write to us about the work. I pray for your health for many years.’

5–6 κ[αλ]ῶσι οὖν ποιήσης πέμψαι: cf. P. Abinn. 21. 5–6, καλῶσι ποιήσης . . . ἀπαντήσαι; Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 756 ff.

## 3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(60-62)a

7·5×24·5 cm

Fourth century

Hieracion instructs Papnuthis to pay some money that he owes him to his 'brother' Diogenes, whom Hieracion is sending on purpose to fetch it. Papnuthis is further to ask whether Heras intends to pay the value of some chaff (as opposed, presumably, to delivering the chaff itself in kind for taxes), and, if he does, to have this money too turned over to Diogenes. This last transaction, according to Hieracion, will be advantageous for Heras; but it does not appear whether he means that the *adaeratio* had been fixed at a particularly low rate, simply that it was a convenient way for Heras to meet his liabilities, or whether he had something else in mind. Papnuthis is reminded concerning his own debt that Hieracion would not have offered certain cloaks without a report from Papnuthis. That sounds as though they had been given up in pledge, but apparently not to Papnuthis, so the nature of the arrangement is not very clear.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank except for some small blots of ink.

'Ιερακίων Παπνούν  
θίω ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
ἀπέστηλα πρὸς ⟨c⟩έ τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν μου Διογένην  
5 ἵνα τὸ ἀργύριον ἀτῷ  
δῶς ἐκ πλήρους.  
παρήγγιλα γὰρ αὐτῷ  
ὅτι ἔὰν μὴ τὸ πᾶν μητῆρ  
δὲν λάβῃς. οἴδες  
10 γὰρ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἡς προσφωνήσας οὐνέ  
φωνήσας οὐνέ ἐδίδω(v)  
τὰς χλαμιδάς. καὶ πίθου  
τοῦ Ἡρᾶ εἰ διδώσει τὴν  
τυμὴν τοῦ ἀχύρου.  
15 συνφέρει γὰρ αὐτῷ· ηὖτε δὲ  
δῖδι, δότω Διογένε[τ]ι.  
ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχο(μαι).

3 l. ἀπέστειλα  
15 l. συνφέρει, ἔὰν5 ἵνα; 1. αὐτῷ  
16 l. δῖδη

7 παρηγγιλα, 1. παρήγγειλα

9 l. οἴδας

11 εδίδω

## 3404. LETTER FROM HIERACION TO PAPNUTHIS

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'Hieracion to his brother Papnuthis, greeting. I have sent to you my brother Diogenes so that you can give him the money in full; for I have told him "If you don't get the full sum, don't take anything." For you know that if you had not reported I would not have given the cloaks. And find out from Heras whether he is giving the value of the chaff. For it is to his advantage, and if he gives it, let him give it to Diogenes. I pray for your health.'

5 ἀτῷ for αὐτῷ: see Gignac, *Phonology*, 226–8.  
10–11 εἰ μὴ ἡς προσφωνήσας οὐνέ ἐδίδω(v): for the construction cf. B. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 519–24, esp. § 523.

## 3405. ORDER FROM HORION TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(39-42)b

10·5×7 cm

c. 360

A clumsily written and clumsily phrased note from Horion that Papnuthis is to pay 200 myriads of denarii to a cook named Macarius, to complete the total of 360 due him. A comparable order from Horion is 3391, which is signed in the same hand as 3405, though the bodies of the texts are different. He is also the author of a letter to Dorotheus, 3412.

This Horion is doubtless the *praepositus pagi* of 3392 9. He addresses Papnuthis as his 'assistant' in 3391 but as his 'brother' in 3405. It seems improbable that this difference reflects a change in the relative status of the men, for Papnuthis is on general grounds unlikely ever to have become approximately the social equal of so important an official as a *praepositus pagi*, and he clearly functions as an underling in this text no less than in 3391. 3407 18 probably gives another example of ἀδελφός used in addressing social inferiors; cf. *WB*, s.v. 6.

A very faded document on the back may be another order to pay.

'Ωρίων Παπνουτίῳ ἀδελφῷ χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχον Μακαρίῳ μογείρῳ εἰς  
σοι<μ>πλήρωσιν τῶν τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα  
5 καὶ νοῦν παράσχον διακοσίας,  
(δημαρίων) (μυριάδας) c" μόνας. 'Ωρίων σε(σημείωμαι).

1 r̄st ω in 'Ωρίων corrected from a 3 l. συμπλήρωσιν 4 l. νοῦν 5 × Ω

'Horion to his brother Papnuthis, greeting. Supply to Macarius the cook, to make up the three hundred and sixty (myriads of denarii), even now supply two hundred, 200 myriads of denarii, only. I, Horion, have signed.'

## 3406. LETTER FROM CLEMATIA TO PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.63/(50-53)c

15 x 12 cm

Fourth century

Some instructions from the landlady to her caretaker, written with a thick pen and rather smeared. The words *αιτόφακον* (4) and *μελικηρίδιον* (11) seem to be new.

π(αρά) Κληματίς γεούχον  
*Παπνούτιον προνοητή Σαδάλου χαίρεων.*  
*παραμέτρησον εἰς τὸ πακτωνάριν Παγάτρος*  
*αιτόφακον ἀρτάβας ἔξ" ὥ' ἔχομεν φῦδε,*  
 5 *καὶ βοϊθήσον Παγᾶ ἵν' ἔχομεν ἐκι ἔκ-*  
*τακτα τῆ<sub>c</sub> τρύνης, καὶ πείρα καὶ ἔρεον*  
*ἀνένικον διὰ τοῦ πάκτωνος καὶ μὴ ἀ-*  
*μελίζηται διὰ τὴν ὁκτώπλιθον.*  
 10 *καὶ ἀπέτητον τὸν Παῦμι<sub>v</sub> τὰ δύο κερά-*  
*μα τοῦ μέλιτος διὰ τὴν ἰορτὴν*  
*καὶ τὰ μελικηρίδια καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον.*

Back: illegible remains of an address in one line.

2 l. Παπνούτιον	3 l. πακτωνάριον	4 l. αιτόφακον, ἔχωμεν	5 l. ἔχωμεν, ἐκεῖ
6 l. ἔριον	7 l. ἀνένεγκον	7-8 l. ἀμελήσητε	8 ν of την written over o?; 1. ὁκτώπλιθον
9 l. ἀπατήσον	10 l. ἰορτὴν	11 l. μελικηρίδια, ἔριον	

'From Clematia, landlady, to Papnuthis, caretaker at Sadalu, greeting. Measure out six artabas of wheat and lentils into Pagas' skiff so that we may have it here, and assist Pagas so that we may have the extra payments of the vintage there, and try also to bring wool up with the boat, and do not delay because of the baked brick. And collect from Paymis the two ceramia of honey for the festival as well as the honeycakes (*or -combs*), and from Pagas the wool.'

5-6 ἔκτακτα were extra payments in kind that lessees presented to their landlords in addition to rental proper. Arrangements to give such were common in rentals of vineyards, and that fits *τρύνης* here, but what Clematia means in detail remains obscure.

7 For ἀνένειον = ἀνένεγκον cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 683, 2.

7-8 ἀμελήσηται: Papnuthis had an associate named Hatres (3407). Clematia is more probably thinking of them both than using a plural of respect to Papnuthis alone.

8 ὁκτώπλιθον: of the words which begin with *πλ-* only *πλήθος* is likely to be the second element of this compound. The omission of the first *ν* would be commonplace in these texts: then Rea's suggestion ὁκτόπλιθον is hard to resist. Confusion of *κ* and *π* is certainly not common, but Gignac cites some examples of *κροκέλμενον* for *προκέλμενον* (*Phonology*, 68).

10 Ιορτὴν: for other examples of this spelling see Gignac, *Phonology*, 249.

11 καὶ Παγᾶν τὸ ἔρεον: governed by ἀπέτητον in 9.

## 3407. LETTER FROM THE LANDLADY TO PAPNUTHIS AND HATRES

44 5B.63/(5-7)a

8·5 x 25 cm

Fourth century

A landlady, perhaps the Clematia of 3406, instructs her προνοητής Papnuthis and her φροντιστής Hatres to have some rock hauled for her 'brothers' Nepotianus and

## 3407. LETTER FROM THE LANDLADY TO PAPNUTHIS AND HATRES 109

Diogenes. Nepotianus occurs only here in the archive; whether Hatres and Diogenes are to be identified with other men of the same name in other documents is uncertain. Line 16 contains the earliest papyrological reference to Sunday as the Lord's Day (*κυριακή*), though the term ἡμέρα ἡλίου is attested in AD 327 (cf. XLIV 3174 17 n.); the text of the wooden tablet referred to there—really two tablets—is no. 17b in E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, ed. 2, Bonn, 1913. For the date see BASP 17 (1980) 17). Traces of ink on the back may come from an address, but a tear has removed too much to allow a reading. The absence of any closing formula is remarkable.

π(αρά) τῆς γεούχον *Παπνούθι*  
*προ(νοητή) καὶ Ἀτρῆ φρ(οντιστή) χ(αίρεω).*  
*ππονδάσατε τὸν ταυρε-*  
*λάτην μετὰ τῶν μόσχων*  
 5 *καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ σχοινίων(ν)*  
*αὐτῶν ἔξελάσε ἐν τῇ*  
*σήμερον εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον*  
*ἐποίκιον Ἀκαδίουν πρὸς*  
*σύριν λίθου τῶν κυρί-*  
 10 *ων μον ὀδελφῶν Νεπω-*  
*τιανοῦ καὶ Διογένους· οἴδα-*  
*τε καὶ ὑμῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἴστεν ξέ-*  
*νοι. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐν*  
*τῇ σήμερον, ἐπειδὴ συν-*  
 15 *έθεντο βαστάζαι ἐν τῇ*  
*κυριακῆν ἡμέρᾳ, τουτ-*  
*έστιν αὔριον ια-*  
*μὴ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, δόξητε*  
*ἀμελήσε καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆ*  
 20 *τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἀνθρώ-*  
*πων, ἐμέναν δὲ οὐκ δλ̄-*  
*γην ὑβριν προσηνέγκα-*  
*τε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τροχοῦ*  
*ἀρκετοί ἔστε. ἐν τῇ αὔριον*  
 25 *δ ἀδελφὸς Λούκιος ἀπαντᾷ*  
*πρὸς ὑμᾶς.*

1 π' εἰσιν 2 προ<sup>ρ</sup> φρ<sup>δ</sup> 3 l. ππονδάσατε 4 σχοινιῶν 6 l. ἔξελάσαι 12 l. ὑμεῖς,  
 19 l. ἀμελήσαι 21 ἐμέναν = ἐμοί

'From the landlady to Papnuthis, caretaker, and Hatres, foreman, greeting. Make haste to send out the bull-driver together with the bullocks, the yoke, and their ropes today to our farmstead which is named after Akindynus to haul rocks for my brothers Nepotianus and Diogenes: you know yourself they are no strangers. But by all means do so today, as they have agreed to take them away on Sunday, that is, tomorrow, the 11th. Therefore, brothers, do not decide to delay, with the result that the work of the men would be hindered and you would bring me no little distress. As for the wheel, you are sufficient [i.e., can settle the matter on your own authority ?]. Tomorrow brother Lucius is coming to you.'

8 ἑποίκιον Ακινδύνον: not otherwise known.

15–16 τῇ κυριακῇ<sup>ν</sup> ἡμέρᾳ: the only examples of *κυριακή* 'Sunday' cited in the *WB* come from the sixth century. In later publications I have found *κυριακή* only in SB X 10657, 5, dated on palaeographic grounds to the fifth century; but the context does not show what the word means there. Note that it is not yet used substantively here.

It should perhaps be remarked that the performance of heavy labour on Sunday had not yet been forbidden by either the state or the church. Constantine's edict of 321 requiring cessation of most business on the *venerabili die solis* explicitly excluded agricultural workers (*Cod. Just.* 3, 12, 2(3)). A Sunday of rest was not decreed by the church till 585 (*Concilium Matisconense* § 1, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Legum Secio III Conclua I*, pp. 165–6). Identification of Sunday with the Sabbath first appears in Carolingian times. See e.g. *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*<sup>8</sup>, xviii 521 ff.

18 It is noteworthy that the writer does not hesitate to address two employees as *ἀδελφοί*. A trace of her Christianity, a sign that their social ranks were indeed about equal, or simply common usage? Cf. 3405 introd.

18–20 μὴ . . . δέξῃτε ἀμελέταις καὶ ἐνέδρωνθή τὸ ἔργον: for the construction cf. e.g. P. Cair. Masp. I 67078, 8, μὴ ἀμελέταις τοῖσι καὶ ζημιωθῆ ὥ γενηματα. See H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spät-griechischen Volksprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1932) 61–7.

21–3 ἐμέναν . . . θέρων προσφέρειτε standing by itself should mean 'you have caused me distress', but the context here requires 'you would cause me distress'. Possibly, then, one should correct to *προσφεύγετε*, but more probably the construction is acceptable folk idioms as it stands. ἐμέναν could also be divided ἐμὲν ἀν, but the word order would be peculiar, and ἀν was not used with ἐνέδρωνθή above.

#### 3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.60/C(26–28)a

9.5×27 cm

Fourth century

Besides the present text, Dorotheus' 'father' Chaeremon wrote 3409–10, and very probably P. Osl. III 88; cf. p. 76. He apparently held a position superior to that of Dorotheus in the collection of taxes, as his letters are full of requests and demands, some of which sound unrealistic, if they were meant in seriousness. The possibility that he was a *praepositus pagi* should not be discounted. He does not make that impression, but we have little to judge by. His style is vigorously colloquial, and the content of his correspondence is of more than usual interest. Despite his reference to Dorotheus as *νιός* he is not among the persons whom Papnuthis greets by name in 3396.

κυρίω μου γιώ  
Δωροθέω Χαιρήμων.  
[ε]ποιόδασον ἐν τῇ σήμερο(ν)  
Βαροῖσιν τὸν σύμμαχον  
5 ή ἄλλον εἰς Ψώβθιν τοὺς  
κυρίω μου γιώ

4 συμμάχο

#### 3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

111

κωμάρχας ἀνενέκκε, καὶ  
τοὺς ειτολόγους τῆς λοι-  
πᾶδος τῶν κριθῶν καὶ  
τοὺς ἐπὶ ειππίου τῆς Ταμ-  
10 πεμον ἀπόστιλον φέρον-  
τες τὸ ειππίον καὶ τὸ ἀνα-  
βολικὸν καὶ τὸ πρωτόν  
καὶ τὸν ειτολόγους τῶν  
κριθῶν. εποιόδασον δὲ τὸν  
15 ὀλοκόττινον τῶν κριθῶν(ν)  
λαβῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων  
καὶ ἀπὸς τρέλε, καὶ τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς  
Ινδίας τῇ κεφαλῇ<sup>9</sup> σὺν ἀλλαγῆς  
(δημαρίων) (μιράδας) μ., (γίνονται) (δην.) (μυρ.) ,Ερκ, καὶ λοιπὸν  
20 τὸ βαρύτατον τῆς ἀπετήσεως  
πάσης τὸς ν<sup>τ</sup> χρυσὸν καὶ τὰς ἀννώ-  
μ[ας] κ[αὶ] εἴπερ ἔργον ποιοῦντι τὸ  
ἀπ[αγη]θεύ ἀπόστιλον. ἐπιξον  
τοὺς ειτολόγους τὸν εἶτον ἐ-  
25 ελίσαι ψῆφι κόκκου καὶ τοὺς  
ἀπὸ Σατύρου. μηήθητι πάσης  
τῆς καθολικότητος. ἐρρῶσθαι  
εε εὐχομαι.

Postscript on the back:

τὰς ἀποχάς τοῦ λόνου τῆς Ταμπεμον  
30 καὶ τὰ ἐντάγια Μέλανος ἀπόστιλον.

Address on the back:

κυρίω μου νιώ	×	×
	×	Δωροθέω
	×	Χαιρήμων
	×	
	×	
	×	
	×	
	×	

6.1. ἀνενέγκαι 10–11 ἀπόστειλον φέροντας 15 ολοκοτ<sup>τ</sup>ων, κριθῶ  
19 \*Ω, / \*Ω 20.1. ἀπαγήσεως 23.1. ἀπόστειλον, ἐπειξον 24.1. ἐγκλεῖσαι  
30 1. ἀποστεῖλαι

'To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. Speed Barusis the guard or someone else to Psobthis today to bring up the comarchs, and send the sitologi for the arrears of barley and the men in charge of tow at Tampepu bringing the tow, and the anabolicum, and the proteion, and the sitologi of the barley. And make haste to receive the solidus for the barley from the responsible persons and to send it, and also the silver money for India, 40 myriads of denarii per head including exchange, comes to 5,120 myriads of denarii, and finally the most burdensome part of the whole collection, the gold and the annonae, and if they are working send what has been collected. Make the sitologi lock up the grain to the last kernel, and (press) the men from Satyru. Bear in mind the full amount due for the catholicus. I pray for your health. (Postscript:) Send the receipts for the flux from Tampepu and the chits of Melas. (Address:) To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.'

3–6 [c]πούδασον . . . διενέκκει: in the context of this archive, it is much more likely that this means the guard is to be sent to Psobthis in order to bring the comarchs from there to Oxyrhynchus, than that the comarchs of some unnamed village are to be brought by the guard to Psobthis: see 3423 1–3 n.

4 Barusis the *symmachos* is presumably identical with the *phrouros* of 3409 3. The name is not listed in the *NB* or *Onomasticon*. On *symmachoi* see the commentary to P. Cair. Isid. 80.

6 διενέκκει (l. ανενέγκει): for other examples of the assimilation of γ before κ in Chaeremon's letters see 3409 18 and 27; cf. Gignac, *Phonology*, 171–2.

7–8 σιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν: sitologi remained responsible for the grain which was to be collected during their term of office until the entire amount due had been collected, even if this required several years; see e.g. P. Cair. Isid. p. 16.

10–13 ἀπόστιλον φέροντες . . . σιτολόγους: in this list of taxes and persons to be sent, *σιτόλον* is object of φέροντες while σιτολόγους again depends directly on ἀπόστιλον. Which verb governs ἀναβολικὸν and πρωτῖον is unclear, but an immediate reversion to ἀπόστιλον would raise the fewest problems of interpretation.

11 The ἀναβολικὸν in Egypt is known to have been collected in linen, in tow, in finished articles of clothing, and in money; that collectors of tow should here be required to bring ἀναβολικὸν with them would therefore be understandable, but ἀναβολικὸν may be the object of ἀπόστιλον rather than of φέροντες. According to the *Historia Augusta*, *anaboliae species* were part of the *vetigal ex Aegypto* established for the city of Rome by Aurelian (*Vita Aureliani* xlv 1). There is a good bibliography on the tax in Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 191–2; cf. also A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 70–4.

12 Apart from the doubtful possibility of P. Ross.-Georg. III 6.2 and 5, a tax called πρωτῖον is otherwise known only from SB V 7756, 4 and 16 (Oxyrhynchus, 27 September 359). In that text, as here, πρωτῖον is paid together with ἀναβολικὸν, but both charges there are to be paid in money, while our papyrus presumably refers to a charge in kind. If the word is to be construed with φέροντες rather than with ἀπόστιλον it must have fallen within the competence of collectors of tow. SB V 7756 contrasts πρωτῖον with δευτέριον. Otherwise there is no real clue to its meaning. Johnson and West suggested translating 'first instalment' (*Byzantine Egypt*, p. 266).

13–14 τοὺς σιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν: it is not clear to me whether this amounts to a repetition of the request for τοὺς σιτολόγους τῆς λοιπάδος τῶν κριθῶν (7–8) or refers to a different group of sitologi.

14–15 τὸν διλογίτην τῶν κριθῶν: I find no other mention of this charge. It may indeed be nothing more than an *ad aeratio* on some of the barley due, but it is tempting to see in it an extra tax of some sort, comparable perhaps to the 5½ denarii per artaba shipping fee plus 1 denarius per modius collected on barley in P. Cair. Isid. 47.

17–18 τὰ ἀργύρια τῆς Ἰνδίας: a head-tax for ναῦται 'Indiac' is attested in SB V 7756, 8 and 17, at a rate doubtfully read as 56 myriads per contributor; see H. I. Bell's note to the *editio princeps*, *Mélanges Maspero* ii 109–10.

18 cōd ἀλλαγῆς: it seems simplest to take this as a reference to money-changing fees of some kind, but two other possibilities should also be considered. (a) A tax receipt of the Arabic period includes a payment λόγχη ἀλλαγῆς να(ντῶν), 'for a relay of sailors' (APF 5, 1913, p. 190, l. 10). If sailors are involved in 3408 as well as in SB 7756, then 'money for India, including a crew' may be the meaning. (b) *cwaalayn* appears as a monetary term in some sixth-century papyri: see West and Johnson, *Currency*, 148–50 and P. Mich. XIII 662, 31 note. That suggests the possibility of reading *cwaalayn* (δηνάριον), 'denarii of *synallage*', a construction which would avoid assuming genitive after cōd (but cf. 3384 11 n.) and might mean 'at the current rate of exchange'.

### 3408. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

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19 If each contributor paid 40 myriads, then 5,120 myriads due fell on a group of 128 persons (adult male population of Psobthis?).

20 τὸν<ν> χρυσὸν: Chaeremon's letters are elsewhere accurate in the use of nus, so possibly τὸν χρυσὸν should be kept uncorrected as a neuter by-form; cf. e.g. 3423 5 with note. For a list of early Byzantine taxes in gold see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 204–5; cf. 3397 22 and 3423 5 and 7.

21–2 ἀνώμαλος: the chief land tax in kind. See for Egypt especially Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 94–112, and for the empire in general A. Cérati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975).

22 ἔργον: not ἔλεον or ἔργον. The sense is apparently that if the collectors have not finished their work yet, nevertheless whatever they have already brought in is to be turned over to Chaeremon immediately.

23 ἄρχοντος κόσκου: cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 110, ἄρχοντος κόσκου εἴνας.

24–6 τοῦ ἀπὸ Καρίου is governed by ἔμπον in 23.

27 For καθολικότης in the sense used here cf. 3423 19–20 n.  
31–2 For the purpose of the design cf. 3396 32 n. This one has no lines parallel with the ligature, but only the remains of a lattice-work pattern over it; cf. 3409 29–30 n.

### 3409. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(55)a

12·5 × 25·5 cm

Fourth century

The background of this letter seems to be as follows. Some time previously, a group of comarchs from Tampepu had come up to Chaeremon in Oxyrhynchus, presumably in response to such orders as we hear about in 3397 and 3423. At the end of their visit, they had been instructed to leave the city, presumably in order that they should go back to their village and carry out their responsibilities in the collection of taxes. Some other comarchs, however, were being held under arrest; and two of those from Tampepu objected so vigorously to co-operating till these men had been released that Chaeremon had them arrested too. Now Chaeremon writes that he has been searching for those comarchs who had remained free, and, not finding them in the city, he had supposed that they were with Dorotheus, who apparently is now in Tampepu; but a guard freshly come from Dorotheus reports that the comarchs are not with him. Chaeremon therefore asks Dorotheus to try to learn the whereabouts of the comarchs, and if they should still be in the city out of protest against the arrest of their comrades, then the wives of the prisoners are to be sent up to take their husbands' places. Cf. perhaps XVI 1835.

Besides the address, the back of the letter has the following notes, which may refer to the *tabularius* of 3411: *Xωοῦτος* (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) v. | ² ὁμοίος (l. -ως) (δην.) (μυρ.) χ.

For Chaeremon see 3408.

κυρίῳ μου νέῳ Δωροθέῳ  
Χαιρήμαν.  
τοῦ φρουροῦ Βαρούσιος ἀπαντή-  
σαντος πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ εἰπέν μοι  
εἶναι π[α]ρά σοι καὶ ἔξήτασα αὐτὸν  
περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπεμού ἐπόη ἔξη-  
τησα τοὺς κωμάρχας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
οὐχ ἐνρὸν αὐτὸς εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν  
δύο τοὺς κατακλίστους καὶ γάρ ἐνθυ-  
ζον αὐτ[ο]ὺς ἐκβάντας καὶ ἔξήτασ[α]  
αὐτὸν καὶ ἵπει μὴ ἴναι παρὰ σοι. ἐάγ  
οὐν μάθης ὅτι οὐν ἔξέβησαν ἀλλ[ά]  
ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸὺς ἴναι καὶ ἔᾳ[ν]  
μάθης τὸ ἔτιον διὰ τί οὐκ ἔξέβη-  
σαν καὶ ἡ ἡ πρόφασις αὕτη, τὸ κα-  
τακλίσαι με δύο διτι αὐτοῖς ἔκβενον  
εἰ μὴ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπολυθῶσιν, τάς γ[υ-]  
νέιας αὐτῶν ἀνένεκκον ἐπὶ τὴν]  
πόλιν καὶ ἔνκλισον εἴνα οἱ ἄρε-  
τες ἀπολυθῶσιν, ὅστε νομίζω  
εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς τῇ ἐκήριας[ο]ν  
περιπα...σιν εἰ δὲ τὸ ἔργον οὖτε  
εἰ παρὰ σοι καὶ μὴ ἐκβάνται ἀπα-  
τησον. γράψον μοι οὐν περὶ τού-  
του· ἡ γάρ ψελλὶς τοῦ λάκκου μον ἔπε-  
σεν καὶ [...]ιλος μ διώκι κα[ι] διὰ τὴν  
ἀνάκκην ἔξέβην. ἔρρωσθα[ι] [ει] εὐ-  
χομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

Address on the back:

κυρίῳ μου νέῳ × × Δωροθέῳ  
30 × × Χαιρήμαν  
× ×  
× ×

1 ιω 61. ἐπειδὴ 91. κατακλέίσους 111. εἶπεν, εἶναι 131. εἶναι 141. αἴτιον  
151. εἰ ἡ 15-16 2nd κ in κατακλέισαι corrected from β; 1. κατακλέισαι 161. ἐκβανον = ἔξεβανον  
17-181. γυναῖκας 181. ἀνένεγκον 191. ἴνα 21 ο in μωροῖς corrected from ι, τ in τῇ corr.  
from ο; 1. αἰκίᾳ 261. διώκει 271. ἀνάγκην

To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon. The guard Barusis came to me and told me that he was in your service, so I asked him about the people from Tampemu, as I looked for the comarchs in the city and found only the two that were locked up and I supposed they had left, so I asked him and he said they were not with you. If, then, you find out that they have not left but are still in the city, and if you find out the reason why they have not left, and if that reason is the very fact that I locked up two of them because they would not leave unless the others were released, send their wives to the city and lock them up so that the males can be released, as I suppose—unless (this is ?) foolishness for fools—that with your torment (I shall get the best of them?). But if the work is getting along with you even if they don't leave make the collection. Write to me about this matter then; for the vault (?) of my well has collapsed and NN is prosecuting me and I have been forced to leave. I pray for your health for many years. (Back) To my lord son Dorotheus, Chaeremon.

3 For Barusis see 3408 4 n. There is more ink at the end of the line than needed for ἀπαντή-  
alone. Probably a false start was made on the following sigma.

9 καὶ γάρ for καὶ ἐγό: see Gignac, *Phonology* 319.

16 ἐκβενον: for other examples of the omission of augment in compound verbs see Mandilaras,  
*The Verb*, § 25.

21 εἰ μὴ μωρὰ μωροῖς: that 'a fool talks nonsense' was proverbial (cf. Eur. *Bacchae* 369, μῶρα ..  
μῶρος λέγει, LXX *Isaiah* 32, 6, ὁ γάρ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει); further the Latin *quasi stultus stultis persuadere*,  
A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, reprint Hildesheim  
1962, p. 333. But the point of the collocation here is not clear. Does he mean 'the comarchs are fools,  
and so we must treat them as such', or 'this plan ought to work, unless I am being foolish in giving  
orders to people too incompetent to carry them out'?

ἐκήρια: no papyrological examples of αἰκίᾳ seem to have come to light since the publication of *WB*  
I, but cf. 3430 24-5 n. What Chaeremon hopes to accomplish 'by means of the punishment you can  
inflict' should be expressed by the infinitive in 22, but I can find no attested word that will do. As  
a new coinage, περιπράγματα would make sense and fit the traces. A quite different line of interpretation  
would be to take ἐκήρια as a misspelling of οἰκίᾳ, and seek to read περιπράγματα in 22, that is, 'I expect to  
profit your household'; but ἐκήρια= οἰκίᾳ is extreme, and περιπράγματα was almost surely not written.

25 ψελλὶς: this form apparently recurs only in P. Ross.-Georg. II 33, 4, ἀν δὲ γένηται ε[. 12 ]κον  
ἡ ψελλὶδος; our text suggests that the last word in lacuna may have been λάκκον. Of the various mean-  
ings LSJ records for ψελλὶς, those referring to vaulted enclosures seem relevant (s.v., II), but none is  
sufficient to explain what is meant here. The brick section of the well above the ground, perhaps, or a  
rounded sun-shade? Cf. PIFAO II 12, 9 n. and REG 91 (1978) 1-11.

26 Possibly Ζ[ο]λος.

29-30 For the design cf. 3396 32 n., 3408 31-2 n.

The greater part of this text is very badly preserved, but those lines which have survived reasonably well are not without interest. The price of barley cited in 17,  
225 myriads of denarii per artaba, indicates a date late in the fourth century, as comparative figures show: cf. 13 talents 500 denarii = 2 myriads per artaba in AD 338  
(I 85 = Sel. Pap. II 332(b). 17), 30 tal. = 4½ myr. some time near the middle of the  
century (P. Abinn. 43. 13-16), 600 tal. = 90 myr. in AD 372 (SB VI 9603(c) = P. Col.  
VII 184. 10-12), and 500 tal. = 75 myr. (SB VI 9603(a) = P. Col. VII 182, 9-12;  
the text's date of 372 has been thought an error for 373 (CÉ 50 (1975) 288-9), but cf.  
P. Col. VII pp. 201-2). Whether the SB prices prove that 3410 was written after



## 3411. LETTER FROM CHOÜS TO DOROTHEUS

44 B.63/(5-7)b

8×27 cm

Fourth century

An archivist named Choüs writes to Dorotheus in unusually impure Greek that he will have his foster-son repay a loan of chaff if Dorotheus brings the lad up on a pending trip. The language implies that Dorotheus is located 'down' in respect of Choüs, either in the countryside while Choüs works in Oxyrhynchus (cf. 3397 introd.), or perhaps simply in the nome as opposed, e.g., to Alexandria. However that may be, the young man is apparently on Dorotheus' staff, and Choüs hopes that the promise of quick payment will induce Dorotheus to include him among his following for the trip.

The back is blank.

κυρίω μου ἀδελφῷ  
Δωροθέου  
Χωοῦς ταβουλάριος  
χαίρειν.  
5    ἐπιδὴ δὲ τρόφῳ  
μός μου Ἀκό-  
ρων χρεωστὶ ἄ-  
χυρον' ἵνα οὖν ἀνα-  
λάβῃς σατῷ  
10    ἀ χρεωστὶ καὶ  
στε μελλεῖς  
ἔλλειν ἄνω  
ἔρχεται μετ' ἑσοῦ  
καὶ πληρώνι  
15    σε ὥδε ἄνω.  
ώσπερ ἐκέλευ-  
σές με εἰς ἔργον  
ἐπούησα. ἀλλ' ὅρα  
μή ἀμελῆς.  
20    καὶ σοὶ κέλευε  
εἰς ἀ δύναμε  
ἵνα δίξω σοι  
προέρεσιν. ἐρρώ-  
σθαί σε εὔχο-  
25    μαι, ἀδελφε.

2 l. Δωροθέω 4 χαίρειν corrected from χαι/ο τροφ 5 l. ἐπειδὴ 6-7 l. Ἀκάρις χρεωστεῖ  
8 ἵνα 9 l. σαντῷ 10 l. χρεωστεῖ 14 l. πληρώνει 16-17 l. ἐκέλευσας 17 ἔργον 20 l. σὸ  
21 l. δύναμαι 22 ἵνα; 1. δέξιω 23 ist εἰ προέρεσιν corrected from α; 1. προαέρεσιν

## 3411. LETTER FROM CHOÜS TO DOROTHEUS

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'To my lord brother Dorotheus from Choüs, *tabularius*, greeting. Seeing that my foster-son, Akoris, owes you chaff—in order, then, that you can collect for yourself what he owes you—and since you are about to come up, he will come with you and pay you up here. I have carried out your orders, but see that you are not slack. And do you order whatever lies within my power so that I can show you my good will. I pray for your health, brother.'

3 The *tabularius* was 'a subordinate official in the fiscal administration, chiefly concerned with taxes. . . . The activity of *tabularii* in the private field became similar to that of private notaries (*tabelliones*). In post-Justinian times there was no difference between *tabelliones* and *tabularii*' (A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia, 1953, s.v. *tabularius*). To the examples of the word cited in S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona, 1971) add now SB X. 10857, 2, P. Mich. XIII 673, 8, P. Tand. 19, 10, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 51 l. 12, and XLIII 3143 2. For the possibility that νομικός was sometimes used to translate *tabularius* see 3390 1 n.

19 μὴ ἀμελήσῃς: usually μὴ ἀμελήσῃς, but cf. 3403 9 and Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 567.  
20-1 κέλευε εἰς: not κέλευε εἰς. P. J. Parsons compares the use of εἰς here with πρὸς in BGU III 948. 12-13, ποιῶ σοι εἰμάρια πρὸς τὸ δύναμε (l. δύναμαι).

## 3412. LETTER FROM HORION TO DOROTHEUS

44 B.60/C(43-45)a

12·5×10 cm

c. 360

Horion, the *praepositus pagi* of 3391-2 and 3405, sends Dorotheus a soldier and an armed guard who are to collect a levy of wax for Alexandria. The rate of 10 pounds per hive seems heavy, but we do not know how often it was collected. Collection of wax is mentioned in 3410 11-12, and an *adaeratio* for the tax is attested in 3428 16. Otherwise the charge seems to be unknown.

The text is written across the fibres of the *recto*, as is shown by the edge of a sheet-join which runs through line 3. The back is blank.

‘Ωρίων Δωροθέου βοηθ(ῷ)  
χαίρειν.  
ἀπέέτιλα πρὸς τὰς Γερόντιον στρατιώτην  
καὶ Δημήτριον σύμμαχον στρατηγοῦ  
5    σπὸς ποιήσῃς τοὺς ὑπευθύνους  
πληρῶσαι αὐτοὺς κηροῦ λί(τρας) ι" τοῦ κηρῶνος  
καιηκονος Ἀλεξανδρίας. ἀλλ' ὅρα  
μή κατάσχῃς αὐτοὺς ὥραν μίαν.  
καὶ ἀπόστιλον τὰ ἀργύρια διὰ Κοπρέως  
10    ἐν τῇ σήμερον. ἐρρωσθαι.  
1 l. Δωροθέω 3 l. ἀπέέτιλα, σὲ 5 l. δόπις 9 l. ἀπόστιλον 10 l. ἐρρωσθε for  
ἐρρωσο? or ἐρρωσθαι σε εὐχομαι?

'Horion to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. I have sent you Gerontius, a soldier, and Demetrius, a guard of the strategus, so that you can make the responsible parties pay them 10 pounds of wax per bee-hive and (?) . . . of Alexandria. But see that you don't hold them up a single hour. And send the silver money by Copreus today. Farewell.'

6 κηρόν was previously known only from the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ecd.* 737.

7 No plausible interpretation of καυκούς occurs to me.

9 Coprus was an armed guard, σύμμαχος, known also from the back of 3416 and possibly from the front of that text as well; cf. note to 9 there.

9–10 Probably added as an afterthought, to judge from the spacing.

### 3413. LETTER FROM ISAAC TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.61/C(1–5)b(2)

6×18 cm

Fourth century

Little connected sense can still be recovered from this fragment, but it adds to the prosopography of the archive and the missing portion may be recognized some day. It is not clear whether traces of ink on the back are remnants of an address or offsets from elsewhere.

[κυρίῳ μο]υ ἀδελφῷ Δωροθέῳ  
‘Ισαάκ.  
[ ] δι’ ᾧ αἰτίαν ἀλόγων  
[ ]ας μὴ ἀπαντήσας  
5 [ ]ξθῆνε σοι, ἀπερ πολ·  
[ ]ο κατὰ σοῦ. καν ὡς  
[ ] τὸ σφάλμα ἀποσω·  
[ ]λῆσαι ἄμα Φλαβίω  
[ ] .αν[...] π]λείστων  
10 [ ]ηγι χόρτου μούγια  
[ ]ε[...] αὐτῷ εἰς παν  
[ ] αὐτοῦ ἔχρι οὐδ  
[ ] .τήγηται. ὅρα  
[ ] .ληγαι ἐπεν·  
15 [ ]ης ἐπὶ τῷ συμ·  
[ ]κις. ἥδη γάρ και ἀλλη  
[ ].χθη.  
(m. 2) ἐρρώσθαι cai εὐ·  
χομαι.

2 Ισαάκ 181. ce

3–4 For example, θαυμάζω ce πολὺ δι’ ᾧ αἰτίαν ἀλόγων | οὐτῶς ἡμέλησας.

10 Presumably χορ]ηγί for χορηγεῖ.

15–16 The obvious supplement is εὐμ[βαίνοντι, but there are doubtless other possibilities.

18–19 Written in brown ink, now faded and difficult to make out.

### 3414. ORDER FROM NN TO DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(9–12)b

17×6 cm

Fourth century

A damaged order similar to 3390–1 and 3405, but addressed to Dorotheus. The papyrus was clipped from a faded document written in brown ink, apparently a sale of some kind. The text is ] φιό δο[ 2 ], φω. . . . . 3 ]ης και ἐπερωτηθεις 4 π]αρὰ σοῦ μεταλημφομένοις 5 ], και ἐπάναγκας (l. -ει) 6 ] καροχής πάσης 7 ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήσων (l. -ει) με 8 ] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὄρθως. Lines 2 and 3 stand at about twice the usual distance from each other, so a short line may be wholly lost between them. A blank space under this text was then used for a letter written in black ink, the remnants of which do not merit transcription. On the front side, in a different hand from the main text and upside down in respect to it, was written a note which may have been intended for καὶ κρέως.

]c Δωροθέῳ βοηθῷ χαιρειν.  
[παράχουν εἰς ὑπ]ηρ(είαν) τοῦ κυρίου μον τοῦ σπεκουλάτορος [  
τέccα]ρα, κρέως λύτρας τέccαρες, καθαρὰ εἴκ[οσι]  
] Τύbi κε" 8] ἐρ[ρώσθαι cε εὔχομαι]  
πολ[λοῖς χρόνοις].

5

‘NN to Dorotheus, assistant, greeting. Supply my lord the *speculator* for his needs with (at least) four . . . , four pounds of meat, (at least) twenty loaves of fine bread. I pray for your health for many years. (Year), Tybi 26.’

1 Of those employers whose names we know, Diogenes and Eulogius would do here.

2 For a short bibliography on *speculators* see BGU XIII 2332, 6 n. Their interest in the ἑμβολή of grain is shown by P. Osl. III 88, 19–20 and perhaps CPR V 12, while P. Cair. Isid. 127 attests a *speculator* who served as ἀπαντής of gold and silver (cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 215–21 n.). This chit is likely to come from a *praepositus pagi*, as we know of no other officials for whom Dorotheus served as assistant. If that is correct, it indicates that the *speculator* held, or could hold, a post superior to that in the taxation hierarchy.

3 Restore e.g. οἶνον κνιδία τέccα]ρα.

4 Tybi 26 = 21 or 22 January.

### 3415. LETTER FROM DIogenES TO DOROTHEUS AND PAPNUTHIS

44 5B.60/C(7–8)b

12×27 cm

Fourth century (376?)

Diogenes instructs Papnuthis and Dorotheus to pay a third assistant of his 20 solidi for χρυσάργυρον and 4 for ‘Constantianopolis’, plus the arrears still due from the past 3rd and 4th indictions. This implies that 3415 was itself written in a 5th induction: AD 346, 361, and 376 are the most probable years. Of these, however, 346 can almost certainly be excluded, as the earliest dated document in which either Papnuthis or Dorotheus appears in public service is 3390, from AD 358. In AD 361 the brothers were employed by Horion (3391–2), in 365 by Eulogius (3393). It is therefore not chronologically impossible that they were serving Diogenes in 361, and indeed it may have been possible to work for two *praepositi* at the same time, but on the whole 376 seems

the most probable date. For Diogenes cf. 3416, perhaps also 3414. The Diogenes mentioned in 3404 is probably a different man.

*Χρυσάργυρον* was the *collatio lustralis*, the tax on tradesmen introduced by Constantine some time before AD 314 and abolished under Anastasius in 498: the basic treatment is J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich, 1958) 129–37. It is mentioned by name in the papyri in P. Lips. 64 = W Chr. 281. 30, PSI VIII 884 and XII 1265, P. Ross.-Georg. V 27. 5 and 28. 7, and P. Erl. 35. 2. The taxes on oil presses and fishermen attested in 3420 and 3423 are further presumably to be subsumed under this heading.

A *Κωνσταντιανόπολις* is not otherwise known and there can be no real doubt that the word is miswritten for Constantinople. In that case the tax will presumably be the same as that referred to in P. Osl. III 88. 10–12, περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντιοπόλεως οὐτε τὸν κωμάρχας ἀπέστιλας οὐν[τ]χρυσόν. The editor of the text thought that this referred to grain intended for that city, but the implied alternative between sending the comarchs or the gold is easier to explain on the assumption that a money tax was involved (cf. 3397 introd.), and the ἐμβολή is in any case mentioned in a different part of the text, 18. The nature of the charge is uncertain, but the mention of an ἀπαιτητὴς τυρώνων Κωνσταντίνης καὶ Δι[ο]κλητιανοῦ πόλεως in P. Lips. 55. 1–2 raises a possibility that it may have been χρυσός τυρώνων.

The back is blank. There are illegible traces above the first line of the printed text, stray ink or offsets from elsewhere.

Διογένης Δωροθέω καὶ  
Παπρούτιώ βοηθ(οῖς).  
Εδδαίμονα τὸν ἡμέτερον βοηθὸν  
ἀπέστιλα ἵνα τὰ εἴκοσι τέσσαρα  
5 νομισμάτια συμπληρώσητε,  
τὰ μὲν εἴκοσι τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου  
τὸν χρυσαργύρον, τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα  
τὰ ἀπὸ λόγου τῆς Κωνσταντι-  
ανοπόλεως· οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ  
10 τὰς λοιπάδας τῆς γῆς καὶ δῆς  
ἀνδικιώνων τῶν τε σιτολό-  
γων καὶ κωμαρχῶν. (m. 2 ?) ἐρρώ-  
θαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι.  
41. ἀπέστειλα; ἵνα 13 ὑμας

'Diogenes to Dorotheus and Papnuthis, assistants. I have sent our assistant Eudaemon so that you can pay the twenty-four solidi, the twenty from the account of the chrysargyron and the four from the account of Constantinople; and in addition (pay) the arrears from the 3rd and 4th indictions, both for the sitologi and for the comarchs. (2nd hand?) I pray for your health.'

## 3415. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO DOROTHEUS AND PAPNUTHIS 123

10–12 λοιπάδας . . . σιτολόγων: sitologi were in principle responsible for taxes in grain. Since these arrears are evidently to be paid to Eudaemon in cash they will have been adaequated.

## 3416. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO PAPNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 5B.63/(71–73)a (front)

(a) 8·5×17·5 cm  
(b) 8·5×6 cmFourth century  
(c. 376?)

Diogenes orders his two assistants to send him the tow that is due to be collected for the *καθολικότης* and the *μαγιστρότης* and to see to it that certain villagers pay the *σύμμαχος* Copreus his wages. At this point one or more lines have been lost from the document, which is in two fragments that do not join, so that a further order concerning 'the master of the she-ass' is no longer clear; cf. 17 n.

*Μαγιστρότης* here can hardly be referred to anything other than the office of the *magister privatae*; it occurs in the same sense in P. Amh. II 138. 11. As this is clearly thought of as something other than the *καθολικότης*, that term must indicate the office of the *rationalis summarum* in charge of the fiscus: for these two chief branches of revenue in general see Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, 78–89. The fact that taxes for both departments are to be collected from the same man, and at the demand of a military officer (11), invites comparison with P. Abinn. 3, in which an ἐπίτρ(οπος) δεσποτικ(ῶν) κτήσεων writes to Abinnaeus for soldiers to assist in the collection of taxes, whereby he refers to an *officialis* sent by both a *dux* and *τοῦ κυρίου | μοι τοῦ διαστηματάραν* *καθολικοῦ* (15–16). It has been thought necessary to identify this *catholicus* as a *rationalis rerum privatatarum*, a post known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. xiv, 4 and probably XX 2267 6; but it now seems a genuine possibility that the *καθολικός* of P. Abinn. 3 is after all none other than the *rationalis summarum Aegypti*. That the *rationalis summarum* and the *magister rerum privatatarum* should co-operate so far as to use the same soldiers to assist in collecting taxes for both offices is in no way surprising: the *comes sacrarum largitionum* had an interest even in the *patrimonium* (*Cod. Theod.* x, 2, 2) and *magistri privatae* are counted among his subordinates in *Not. Dig.*, Or. xiii, 15, while the papyri attest that the *magister privatae* of Egypt also had an interest in the fiscus: references in Lallemand, op. cit. 88–9. See further N. Lewis in *JJP* 15 (1965) 157–61.

3415 is another letter from the Diogenes of our text, and 3414 may be from him as well. The tone and subject-matter of the correspondence suggests that he was a *praepositus pagi*. Whether he is identical with the landlord of the same name in 3398 and 3407 is not apparent.

On the back are twenty faded and mutilated lines of a money account. The following entries are representative: <sup>8</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ δι(ά) [Κο]πρέως <sup>9</sup> συμμάχον νο(μισμάτια) <sup>10</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ ὑπ(έρ) λόγον Εὐλογίῳ[ν] <sup>11</sup> νο(μισμάτια) <sup>12</sup> κομενταρτζίῳ νο(μισμάτια) <sup>13</sup> τῷ γεούχῳ δι(ά) Θεογνώτου <sup>14</sup> νο(μισμάτιον) α', '10 solidi for the landlord, through Copreus the armed guard; 4 solidi for the landlord on behalf of Eulogius; 3 solidi for a *commentariensis*; 1 solidus for the landlord through Theognostus'.

(a)

*Διογένης Παπνουτίου καὶ Δωροθέου*  
 βοηθ(οῖς) χ(αίρειν).  
 αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός  
 5 μου τὰ γράμματα τὸ αἰ[ππίον]  
 τῆς καθολικότητος  
 καὶ τῆ[ς] μαγιστρότης  
 ἀπόστηλον ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐν τῇ σχμερῷ.  
 10 πάνοι γάρ ἐνοχλοῦμαι  
 ὑπὸ Σερῆνον τοῦ (δεκαδάρχον).  
 καὶ ποίησον τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης  
 πληρῶσαι Κοπρέαν  
 15 τὸν σύμμαχον εἰς  
 τὸν μισθὸν φῆ[τοῦ]

(b)

καὶ μὴ ἔπιτρεψῃ  
 τὸν κύριον τῆς ὄράδος  
 κρατήσει αὐτὸν ἐστ’ ἂν αἴγα  
 20 ἀκούσω τοῦ πράγματος.

(m. 2) ἔρρωσθαι.

1-2 l. Παπνουτίῳ καὶ Δωροθέῳ  
 19 l. κρατήσαι, ἔγὼ 8 l. ἀπόστειλον  
 21 l. ἔρρωσθε

10 l. πάνυ 11 l. Σερῆνου

'Diogenes to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, assistants, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter send the tow for the account of the *catholicus* and of the *magister* to the city, today; for I am being much troubled by Serenus, the decurion. And make the villagers pay Copreas the armed guard . . . for his wage . . . and does not let the master of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them?) till I have heard the case. Farewell.'

<sup>4</sup> δεξάμενος: Diogenes writes as though he were addressing only one person in the letter until the closing ἔρρωσθαι.

<sup>14</sup> Κοπρέας: this form points to a nominative *Κοπρέας*, but the possibility should be considered that this may be the same man as the *Κοπρέος* (gen.) of 3412 9 and/or of 8-9 on the back of this text, cited in the introduction.

<sup>18</sup> ὄράδος: here for the first time in the papyrus, if the reading is right. Cf. *ιππάς*.

<sup>17</sup> ἔπιτρεψῃ: this should be 3rd person active, the subject being lost in lacuna. The sense is presumably 'see to it that so-and-so obeys and does not let the owner of the she-ass take possession of him (it, them?) till I have heard the case', or perhaps 'do such-and-such if he raises an argument and does not let' etc. If *αὐτὸν*, i.e. *αὐτὸν* or *αὐτῶν*, in 19 is to be taken seriously, it cannot refer to the she-ass, but to some word lost in the gap between lines 16 and 17.

## 3417. LETTER FROM MAXIMUS TO PAPNUTHIS AND DOROTHEUS

44 B.63/(28-29)a (back)

10 x 25.5 cm

Fourth century

Maximus, whom the other side of this papyrus shows to have been headman of the village Leuci (3422), writes a letter of furious reproach to Papnuthis and Dorotheus: their failure to carry out some piece of business with which their 'brother' Ammonius was concerned has resulted in the latter's hounding Maximus in his village for the last three days. Not enough information is given for us to reconstruct the background to the affair, though some connection with taxation is a natural supposition in the context of these papers. In any case, Dorotheus and Papnuthis are in Maximus' debt, and Ammonius will shortly be back in Oxyrhynchus. The brothers are to see that he does not trouble Maximus again.

The other side contains 3422. That text was written first, or the papyrus would not have found its way into this archive. Maximus is probably to be recognized again in 3428 17, possibly also in 3419 1.

κυρίοις μον ἀδελφοῖς Παπνουτίῳ  
 καὶ Δωροθέου Μάξιμος.

θαυμάζω ὑμᾶν ὑπέρ τὴν  
 πολλὴν πάσι ἀφίετε τὸν

5 ἀδελφὸν ὑμῶν Ἀμμιώνιον  
 ἐνοχλήνυ<sup>ν</sup> μοι καθ<sup>τ</sup> ἕκαστην ἡμέ-  
 ραν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκλ-<sup>η-</sup>

νου. οὐτε οὐλ ἐπονήσατε  
 αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν Θεῶν οὐτε

10 οὐκ ἐθύμετε ἀνθρώπους,  
 ἀλλ᾽ ἀφήκατε μοι θλίβεσθαι

ὑπ<sup>τ</sup> αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔχο μοι τὰς  
 κάκας. οὐκ ἀφήκατε μοι μετ<sup>τ</sup> αὐ-<sup>τάς;</sup> [[ν]] καν διὰ τὸ λυπὸν ἐδέ-<sup>θηται,</sup> δώτε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

15 τὰ αὐτοῦ. μὰ τὴν γὰρ θλαν πρό-  
 νοια<sup>ν</sup> ἔλαν μὴ διαλύσασθαι

πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφίτε μοι  
 θλίβεσθαι ὑπ<sup>τ</sup> αὐτοῦ ἀναβέ-

20 νω ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ

2 l. Δωροθέω 3 ὕμας ὑπέρ 5 l. ὑμῶν? 6 l. ἐνοχλεῖν 7-8 l. ἔκεινον 9 l. Θεῶν  
 10 l. αἰσθάνετε? see note to text 12 l. ἔχω 13-14 ac in αὐτάς corr. from ω 14 l. λοιπόν,  
 αἰδεῖσθητε 15 l. δότε 16 l. θείαν 17 l. διαλύσεσθε 18 l. ἀφῆτε 19 l. ἀναβαίνω

ποιῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπετεθῆναι  
τὸ πᾶν εἰς μίλια ρωτήν.  
οὐκ ἔδειθται ὑμῖς ὅτι  
τρία ἔτη σήμερον ἐγώ χω-  
25 ρηγῶ διάφορον ὑπέρ ὑμῶ(ν),  
τὸ οὖν ἔτιν δίκαιον παρὰ Θε-  
ῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις; τριῶν ἡμε-  
έρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομε.

Left margin:

ρῦν γάρ σήμερον διακατέχῃ μοι ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης καὶ τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ απ.. γητε  
...ετηρα..[.]μην ταύτην.

30 ἔρχεται γάρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. μὴ ἀφίτε αὐτῷ γὰλλοτε ἐλθῦν πρὸς ἐμέ.

21 ὑμας; I. ἀπαιτηθῆναι      23 l. αἰδεῖθε; ὑμις; I. ὑμεις      24-5 l. χορηγῶ      25 ὑπερ ὑμῶ  
26 τὸ = δ      27 l. τρώω      28 ὑμας; I. εὐχομαι      29 l. διακατέχει με      30 ὑμας; I. ἀφήτε, ἐλθεῖν

To my lords brothers Papnuthis and Dorotheus, Maximus. I am astonished at you beyond all measure how you let our (your?) brother Ammonius trouble me every day about that business. You did not see it through for the sake of God, nor do you show regard for men, but you have let me be pressed by him. I have my troubles too. Did you not abandon me after them? Nevertheless, show some shame in the future, give the man what is his. For by the Divine Providence, if you do not come to terms with him, but let me be pressed by him, I am coming up to the city and having the whole amount collected from you at one go. Are you not ashamed that I have been paying interest for you three years today, which is not just in the eyes of God or man? I pray for your health. (Postscript): For he has been confining me in the village three days today, and so much . . . for he is coming to you. Do not let him come to me another time.'

5 It is possible that this Ammonius is the correspondent of 3419-21, perhaps also the 'father' of Papnuthis mentioned in 3397 27.

9 The referent of αὐτῷ is apparently πράγματος in line 7. Some more examples of δὰ τὸν Θεόν are collected in P. Herm. Reces 17. 6 n.

10 ἔθάντε: it seems clear from the context that this is a 2nd person plural, apparently an active by-form of αἰθάνουσα, though I have found no parallel for such. The meaning seems to be 'you have no sympathy for your fellow human beings', or perhaps 'you have no care for how your behaviour looks to people'.

13 κάκας presumably means 'troubles' here, though that definition is not given in LSJ, s.v. κάκη. The word does not seem to have been found in a papyrus before. It may recur in 3420 25, but τῶν κακῶν there could also come from τὰ κακά.

13-14 μετ' αὐτῶν corrected from μετ' αὐτῶν, not vice versa. This may be a statement, 'you did not abandon me' etc., but the following καὶ ὅτι clause links more smoothly if it is a rhetorical question.

17 ἔστι μη διαλένεσθαι (l. -εθε): for the use of the indicative after ἔστι in the koiné see Mayser II 1 pp. 284-5; L. Radermacher, *NT Grammatik* 198-200. But the subjunctive is used in l. 18, unless ἀφήτε there stands for ἀφέτε rather than ἀφῆτε.

27 τριῶν: here begins a postscript added after the ἐρράσθαι formula had been written. It continues along the side of the papyrus.

29 Much of the surface of the papyrus has been lost near the end of the line.

### 3418. LETTER FROM NN TO NN

127

#### 3418. LETTER FROM NN TO NN

44 5B.60/C(4-5)a

7×14 cm

Fourth century

This fragment of a letter is on grounds of style and content likely to belong to our archive, and the hand may be that of Dorotheus or Papnuthis, but as the names of writer and addressee are lost one cannot be sure.

The back is blank.

[  
περὶ τοῦ ερ.[.....]  
μοι ἵνα ἀπ[.....]  
αὐτόν. δίλασόν  
5 μοι καὶ ἀνέρχομαι  
ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν.  
Θεοῦ γάρ θέλορτος  
ἀπαντό ἐπὶ τὴν  
πόλιν ἐν τῇ νευματίᾳ,  
10 μόνον γράψον μοι  
τὴν φάσιν.  
ἔρρωσθαι σοι [εὗ]χο-  
μαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

3 ἵνα      8 l. ἀπαντῶ      9 l. νεομηνίᾳ      12 l. εε

' . . . me about the . . . that I may . . . him (or, it). Tell me and I will come up to the city; for God willing, I shall get to the city on the first, just write me word. I pray for your health for many years.'

2 It is most probable that the word in lacuna immediately before μοι was γράψον, but then it is very hard to find a suitable masculine noun beginning with ερ- that is short enough for the remaining space. ἔργατον or ἔργασον might do, or the name Εργάλεως; but it is perhaps more attractive to seek something along the pattern of εἰ θέλεις λαζαῖς τῷ δεῖνα περὶ τοῦ ἔργου, γράψον] μοι ἵνα ἀποστέλω] αὐτόν. 'If you want to speak with so-and-so about the work, write to me and I'll send him'.

### 3419. LETTER FROM SARAPAMMON TO AMMONIUS

44 5B.63/(66-67)a

16×24 cm

Fourth century

Evidently Sarapammon, like Dorotheus and Papnuthis when they accepted work under Eulogius, had borrowed money to meet the immediate demands of superior tax-collectors in the expectation of recovering it later from the peasants from whom it was more properly due. But collections for the fourth indiction ended in the red; Sarapammon has not been able to recover his pledges from his creditors and has been forced to borrow still more money from his 'father' Dioscorus, whom he is particularly



τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ οἱ ἄγροικοι τὸ ἔ-  
τυμον ἔαντῶν ποιήσο[ν]σιν. ἐπειχε  
μὴ ὑπέρων τὸ πᾶν καύσομεν ἐὰν  
10 γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὸς γράψῃς οὐκ ἐπ' ἐ-  
μοὶ τὸ ἔτιον. φθάνη ὅρτι Ἀμμινα-  
νὸς γράφων εἰς Νεσμῖμιν πλα-  
τικῶς. οὕτω γραφθ[ε]. ἐδήλωσας  
οὖν διὰ Ἀμόνιν ἴδιον σου ως περὶ  
15 κρέως λ(τρῶν) χ. οὐκ ἐδήλωσας  
ἐκ πόσου τῆς λίτρας. καὶ περὶ ἀ-  
χύρου λ(τρῶν) (μυριάδος) α' πάλιν τὴν τι-  
μὴν οὐκ ἐδήλωσας, ἢ ὅτι τὸ  
ἴδος, λέγω δὴ τὸ ὄχυρον, θέλεις  
20 πέμψαι εἰς τὴν πόλειν. οὕτω καὶ  
οἱ ἄγροικοι τὰ {υ} αὐτὰ λέγονται,  
διὰ τὰ γράμματά σου ἡ πᾶσα ἐνε-  
δρα γίνεται. γρ[ά]ψον μοι οὖν τὴν  
τιμὴν ἑκάστου ἴδους. πανσομαι  
25 μετόκιν τῶν κακῶν μου θλιβό-  
μενος. τάχα δ κατακλυσμὸς  
ἐρχεται εἴνα ἐν μιᾷ ῥοπῇ τὰ πάν-  
τα πληροῦμεν. ἀπέστιλά σοι Σαρ-  
ηνὸς θν(γάτηρ) Παυσιρίου ἔχουντα  
30 ἀποχήν κρέως λ(τρῶν) κβ' Ἀμμω-  
νιανὸν· ἰδαὶ ἡ ἐλημματίσθη ἐι  
μῆ, ποίησον αὐτὴν λημματίσθη-  
ναι καὶ γράψον μοι. ἀπέστιλά σοι Ἀμ-  
μωνᾶν τὸν πεδιοφύλακα μετὰ  
35 γραμμάτων. ἐὰν ἀπόσχῃς τὰ σά,  
ταῦτὸν ποίησον αὐτὸν πληρώ-  
σαι. τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἐμερί-  
σθη ὅπως ὁ ἄγροφύλαξ πληρώ-  
σαι, καὶ ο[ν]τ[αι]κόληγος. ἀ μὲν γράψις

7 αναγ' κτης 7-8 1. ἔτοιμον 9 ὑπέρων 11 1. αἴτιον, φθάνει 13 1. γράφεις  
14 ἴδιον 15 δ 17 λ Ω 19 ἴδος; 1. εἶδος, θέλεις 20 1. πόλιν 24 1. ἴδους 27 1. ἔνα  
28-9 1. Σαραπόν θυγατέρα (θύν παρ.), ἔχουντα 30 λ 31 ἴδαι; 1. ἴδε εἰ ἐλημματίσθη 33 1. ἀπέστιλα  
39 1. γράψεις

40 μοι περὶ [το]ῦ Ζωιλᾶ, οὐκ ἀπέστιλας  
τὴν ἔχθειν αὐτῶν. ἐρρῦσθαι  
σε εὔχομαι π[ο]λλοῖς χρόνοις.

Postscript down the left margin:

μὴ ἀμελήσῃς γράψον μοι τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κρέως ὅτι πόσον ἀπαιτοῦσιν τῆς  
λίτρας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀχύρου γράψον μοι. εἰςως  
οὐδὲ τὰ γράμματά μου ἀναγινώσκεις. ποίησον τὸν πρόεδρον δοῦναι χρυσοῦ  
γράμ(μα) οἰδ' ὑπὲρ ἐλαιουργίου κλη(ρονόμων) Κύρου.

Back:

45 ἦδη γὰρ κάγῳ τὰ ἀλλα ἐλαιούργια ἀπαιτῶ. γράψον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ σήμερον  
τὴν τιμὴν ἑκάστου καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
τοῦ βουρδῶνος ὅτι πόσον ἑκάστη<c> ἀρούρης 'καὶ' φθάνει ἵνα πρὸ τῆς  
ἀνάγκης πάλιν βοηθήσουται.

Address, upside down in respect to the postscript:

τῷ δεεπότῃ μου πάτρωνι	X X	Σαραπάμμων
	X X	Ἀμμάνιος
	X X	

40 ζωιλᾶ; 1. ἀπέστιλας 43 1. ἔνας 44 1. ἀναγινώσκεις; γραμμ'', ὑπερ, κλη  
αναγ' κτης 47 1. Σαραπάμμων 46 1. φθάνε;

To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius. I am astonished how you write to me this way not even stating the price in your letter so that the country people can prepare themselves before absolutely necessary. Stop it or we will burn the lot; for if you write this way again the blame will not be on me. Ammonianus has just written at length to Nesmimis, that is the way you write. You told us, then, through your own man Amos about 600 pounds of meat; you did not say how much it was per pound. And concerning 10,000 pounds of chaff again you did not state the price, or that you want to send the item, I mean the chaff, to the city. That is why even the country people say the same thing, the whole delay comes about because of your letters. Therefore write me the cost of each item. I shall have rest from my afflictions together with my troubles. Maybe the flood will come so that we can pay the whole sum in one go. I have sent Pausirius' daughter Saraeous to you with Ammonianus' receipt for 22 pounds of meat. Find out if she has been credited with it; if not, have her credited with it and write me. I have sent Ammonas the field-guard (*pediophylax*) to you with letters; if you have got yours, make him pay the same. The wool (-levy) has been divided up according to sheep, so that the fieldguard (*agrophylax*) pays, and no small sum. As for what you wrote about Zoilas, you have not sent me the list of their charges. I pray for your health for many years. (Postscript) Do not neglect to write me the price of the meat, how much they are collecting per pound, and moreover write to me about the chaff. Maybe you don't even read my letters. Make the chairman pay 1½ grammes of gold for the oil factory that belongs to Syrus' heirs; for I myself am already carrying out the collection on the other oil factories. Write us today the price of each item, and how much the price of the mule amounts to per arara, and hurry, so that they can help again before absolutely necessary. (Address) To my lord patron Sarapammon, Ammonius.

6–7 πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης: the phrase recurs in 46. I can cite no other instance of ἀνάγκη in quite this sense, 'last possible moment', but some of the examples in *WB*, s.v. (2) are not far removed from it.

7–8 τὸ ἔτυμον ἐντάῦν ποιήσει[ν]ειν: cf. I 123 11–12, τὸ ἔτυμον αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι. For the indicative in final clauses see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§ 413 and 542–6. Here ποιήσειν could be read instead of ποιήσει[ν]ειν, but the indicative is clear in 28 and 46.

9 μὴ . . . καύσωμεν: Mandilaras does not cite an instance of a future used as here, so perhaps καύσωμεν should be read.

12–13 πλατικός is not in the *WB* or *Soglio lessicale*. To judge from the entries under πλατικός in LSJ the translations 'in general terms' and 'in detail' are both defensible, and the context does not show which is meant here. I think it likely that Ammonius' letter was one of lengthy complaint directed to some superior of Sarapammon and Ammonius who was staying in the village Nesmimis; but if πλατικῶς does mean 'in general terms', then it may rather be that we should place a full stop after Νεσμίμιν and take the adverb with what follows, i.e., 'Ammonius has already written to Nesmimis (complaining, or conceivably just asking for clarification of some points), with such lack of detail do you write.'

19 ἔδος (= εἰδός): used throughout this letter in the technical sense of goods to be collected in kind for taxes.

24–6 πονέομαι . . . θλεβόμενος: if Ammonius thought of κακά as enduring for life, this would presumably imply that only death could bring him relief. But in all probability he means nothing more than that a sensible letter from Sarapammon will solve his present difficulties.

28–33 The Ammonianus of l. 11 was presumably involved in tax collection, or he would probably not have responded so actively to the letter that Ammonius complains about. I take it that the same man is meant here: he has collected 22 pounds of meat due from Saraeōs, and issued a receipt for the same. Ammonius wishes to be sure that these have been properly credited to her in the taxation lists, which are apparently with Sarapammon.

36 ταῦτην: i.e., 22 pounds of meat, the same as Saraeōs?

37–8 τὸ ἔπον εἰτὶ τὰ πρόβατα ἑμερίσθη: the collectors evidently knew that a levy of wool would be made before they learned how much would fall on each individual. The total amount to be raised in such levies may well have differed from time to time, and the proportion due from each contributor plainly changed in accord with the number of sheep he owned.

38–9 ὅτως . . . πληρώσας: cf. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 776. It is not clear to me whether the ἀγροφύλαξ of l. 38 is the same or a different man from the πεδιοφύλαξ of l. 34.

44 πρέδερον: president of a city council, no doubt that of Oxyrhynchus; see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto, 1971) 59–60. It is not clear whether the man mentioned here owed the gold as a private individual or in consequence of his office. City councillors played a role in tax collection in the fourth century, but the details of their responsibility are not well known; see Bowman, ibid. pp. 69–77. If the councillor is here functioning as a private citizen, then either he owns the plant in question, and κλητ(πονήμων) Σύρον is in effect simply its name; or he has assumed tax responsibility for the property even though it does not belong to him, as guardian to the still under-aged heirs or for some other reason. There is another reference to the government's interest in ἀλουθργα in 3410 10; cf. further ZPE 8 (1971) 208, lines 13 ff., and for the pre-Diocletianic period cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton, 1938) 184–7.

45–6 τυχὴν τοῦ βορράδανος: since this price is to be calculated per arura we are dealing with the tax; cf. 3424 8 n.

46 There seems to be no other subject for βοηθήσονται available than the ἄγροικοι.

47–8 For the design cf. 3396 32 n.

## 3421. LETTER FROM AMMONIUS TO SERAPION

44 5B.63/(68–69)b (front)

11 × 12·5 cm

Fourth century

This letter with its rather florid Christian opening was later trimmed to contain 3402 on its back. Its writer may or may not be the Ammonius of 3419–20; Serapius and Philippus are otherwise unknown. Much of the surface has been very badly rubbed, so that the readings offered are sometimes far from certain.

τῷ κυρίῳ μον ἀδελφῷ  
Σεραπίωνι Ἀμμώνιος.  
προηγουμένως εὔχομαι  
τῷ πανελέμονῃ Θεῷ  
5 περὶ τῆς ἀδελφικῆς σου  
διαθέσεως . . . εὐθύ-  
μοιντά ται ἀπ[ο]λαβεῖν [τὰ]  
παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματά μον.  
καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλι σε ἡξίωσα  
10 περὶ τοῦ θρηπτοῦ [ζο]ν Φιλίπ-  
που ὅπως βοηθήσῃς αὐ-  
τῷ καὶ μὴ ἔάσῃς Πέτα-  
λον στερήσιν. κατ' αὐτοῦ  
(traces of 1 line)

7 l. ce      9 l. πόλει      13 l. στερήσειν (?) ; cf. n.

'To my lord brother Serapius, Ammonius. Before all I pray to the all-merciful God concerning your brotherly attitude that you may receive my letter from me . . . in good spirit. I made a request of you even in the city about your foster-child Philippus, that you should come to his assistance and not allow Petalus to rob him. Against him . . .'

6–7 There is not enough room for the usual δλοκληροῦντα καὶ εὐθυμοῦντα or any variant thereof that has occurred to me.

13 στερήσειν (l. -ειν). κατ' αὐτοῦ: the articulation appears very harsh. Perhaps one should read στέρησειν κατ' αὐτοῦ [ποιήσειν] or something of the sort, 'exercise robbery against him'. I have found no close parallel for that phrase, but some of the examples of κατά+gen. cited in Mayser II. 2 p. 429 tend to support it. The traces in 14 are too meagre to help.

## 3422. LETTER FROM APOLLONIUS TO MAXIMUS

44 5B.63/(28-29)a (front)

25.5 x 10 cm

Fourth century

An order from an otherwise unknown Apollonius to Maximus, *meīzōn* of Leuciū to supply four knidia of honey 'for the most fortunate day of the crowning', presumably the inauguration of Apollonius or an intimate of his to some public office (cf. e.g. XLIV 3202 with literature there cited. The word used, *ctéψic*, does not appear to have any particular religious significance, either Christian or pagan).

The functions of a village *meīzon* are not very clear (cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris, 1928, pp. 69-71; P. Corn. 20. 9 n.), but this transaction hardly has the appearance of being official business. It is at least possible that Maximus is in this case acting as a private individual, and that the title here serves only to identify him among the villagers.

On the back is a letter from Maximus to Papnuthis and Dorotheus, 3417.

Ἀπολλώνιος Μαξίμῳ μῆζον Λευκίον χ(αίρειν).  
 αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός μον τὰ γράμματα σπούδασον μέλιτος  
 ἐπιτηδίου κνίδαι τέσσερα ἀπόστιλέ μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος εἰς τὴν  
 εὐτυχεστάτην ἡμέραν τῆς στέψεως, τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης  
 5      coi καθὼς δηλοῖς μοι. ἐρρώθαι σε εὑχομα πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

1 l. μῆζον      3 l. ἐπιτηδεῖον, τέσσαρα, ἀπόστειλαι

'Apollonius to Maximus, *meīzon* of Leuciū, greeting. The very hour that you receive my letter hasten to send me four knidia of satisfactory honey by my messenger for the most fortunate day of the crowning, the price being booked to you just as you instruct me. I pray for your health for many years.'

<sup>3</sup> κνίδαι of 4, 5, and 8 sextarii are known: see *TAPA* 70 (1939) 6-8.  
<sup>4-5</sup> τῆς τιμῆς λογιζομένης coi: linguistically it would seem possible to translate this as 'the price being charged to you', meaning that Maximus himself, from friendship or for some other reason, had agreed to cover the price of honey he delivered. But while it would no doubt be possible to think of circumstances in which a delivery of honey which was effectively a gift would be expressed in such form for record purposes, it seems much more likely that the man who orders the goods also has to pay for them: for this use of *λογιζομαι* cf. e.g. BGU XII 2184. 4 and n.

## 3423. MEMORANDA

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## 3423. MEMORANDA

44 5B.60/C(9-10)b

10 x 26 cm

Fourth century

The first five items on this list are introduced with the words *περὶ τοῦ* and apparently contain short summaries of letters sent or received; the last entry contains the imperative 'collect the taxes'. Most probably, then, the whole is an *aide-mémoire* of things to be done, based for the most part on orders received in correspondence. The back contains scattered jottings with amounts in solidi.

περὶ τοῦ τοῦ κωμάρχας  
 τῆς Ταμπεμού ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἀποστέλλαι  
 καὶ Μᾶρκον καὶ Ἡρᾶν καὶ  
 5      [.]... απὸ χρυσὸν τῆς  
 χαρούβδεως.

περὶ τοῦ τὸν χρυσὸν τῶν  
 ἀλιέων ἀπαιτήσε.

περὶ τοῦ ειπόντου τῆς αὐτῆς.

10      περὶ τὸν πάντα τὸν εἰπόντον  
 ἀπετήσε τῆς Ταμπεμού  
 καὶ Σατύρου καὶ Κοινοπολίτου  
 εἰς τὸ δημοσάριων πλοῖ-

ον.

15      περὶ τοῦ τ[ό]ν οἶνον τῆς  
 Κυνῶν τὸν ἀγγει-  
 νόν ἀπετήσε.  
 καὶ τὸ Σατύρου  
 ἀπαίτησον τὴν κα-  
 20      θολικότητα.

3 l. ἀπόστειλαι      8, 11, 17 l. ἀπαιτήσαι  
 δημοσάριον      16-17 l. τῶν ἀνωνῶν

10 l. περὶ τοῦ

12 l. Κυνοπολίτου

13 l.

'About sending the comarchs of Tampemu to the city and Marcus and Heras . . . the gold for the pool. About collecting the fishermen's gold. About the tow of the same (village). About collecting all the grain of Tampemu and Satyrus and the Cynopolite nome for the state ship. About collecting the wine for the *annona* from Cynopolis. And collect the amounts due to the office of the catholicus from Satyrus.'

1–3 For instances in this archive of comarchs being ‘sent to the city’ see 3397 and 3408–9. In those papyri the expectation was that the nome capital, with its prison, presented a favourable environment for persuading reluctant comarchs to pay the taxes due from their villages. That would suit the present text well enough, but of course there may have been other causes for such trips as well.

5 [...] ,<sup>aro</sup>: *ro* may stand for *rōv* (cf. e.g. 3408 21), though *rōv* *χρυσόν* is spelled correctly in 7. The preceding traces can be read as [2] *τιγρωνα*. If that should be right, the meaning would presumably be ‘send Marcus, Heras, and Apion to the city with the gold’ or just ‘collect the gold from them’.

5–6 *χρυσόν τῆς χαρύβδεως*: in XLVI 3269 and 3270 a type of fishing is described as *χαρύβδειν*, and it has been suggested that the noun refers to ‘pool of rough water associated with a lock’ (P. Collect. Youtie 68, 21–2 n.). The ‘gold of the *charybdis*’, attested for the first time here, is apparently different from the ‘gold of the *halies*’ which follows, but is no doubt like it to be ranked among the trade taxes.

7–8 The ‘gold of the fishermen’ seems not to have occurred before, but one would in any case have expected fishermen to be subject to the *χρυσάργυρον*. For earlier taxes on the trade see Wallace, *Taxation* 219–21.

9 *τῆς αὐτῆς* refers to Tampemu.

10 It is remarkable that the Cynopolite nome here is treated as parallel to Oxyrhynchite villages. Many texts in vol. XVI show a close connection between the two nomes in the later Byzantine period. Taxes for the two are paid together in 1843 and 1909, and in the latter text ‘their combined quotas are only 2,000 solidi more than that of Heracleopolis’ (1909 introd.). In 2028 contributions for stables at Tacona are collected from Plecin, Sepho, and Cynopolis; the amounts from all three are roughly comparable. Nonetheless, 3398 shows that Cynopolis still had its own boule in the fourth century (though not necessarily still at the time of this text), and it is remarkable to find its taxes collected by Oxyrhynchite officials. Cf. further the single procurator in charge of imperial estates in both nomes in XX 2267. There was also a village named Cynopolis (e.g., BGU XIII 2252, 4), but that was located in the Polemonos meris of the Fayum and cannot be meant in these texts.

13 *δημοσάρων*: a new word. Du Cange cites *δημοσάρος* in Greek and *dimossarium* in Latin, defining the latter as ‘municipium, burgus respectu castelli, seu burgus qui castello imminet’. If pressed, this might suggest that the boat was owned by the *civitas* rather than the provincial government, but it probably means no more than *δημόσιος*.

16 *Κνοῦ*: cf. 3398 12 n.

19–20 *καθελκότης* in the sense of due owed to the office of the *catholicus* seems to have occurred previously only in 3408 27. In IX 1223 30–1 and possibly 3410 8–9 ή *καθ'* δλον is used synonymously. The first passage understandably puzzled its editors; translate ‘one and a half units [i.e., 150,000,000 denarii, see 3402] for taxes owing to the office of the *catholicus*’. Cf. also P. Osl. III 88. 25, where *τὰ εἰδη τῆς καθελο[ν]ης* should mean ‘items owed to the *catholicus*’.

#### 3424. TAX SCHEDULE

44 5B.63/(54)a

19·5×24·5 cm

Fourth century  
(c. 357 or 372?)

The closest parallel to this list of taxes and the rates charged per arura for them is XVI 1905, which the editors dated to the fourth or fifth century and A. Déléage would place between AD 311 and 356 (*La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, Mâcon, 1945, p. 73).<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, 3424 is not concerned with regular taxes collected at normal rates, but is a *προσαίτης*, a list of charges to be collected over and above the sums that had

<sup>1</sup> R. Rémondon considers a date later in the fourth century more probable (*Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, p. 434), and this has been accepted by J.-M. Carrié in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris, 1977), 383.

#### 3424. TAX SCHEDULE

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already been taken in sometimes for one and sometimes for two indictions. Comparison between 1905 and 3424 is further hampered by the different methods of expression used: 1905, for example, states the number of aruras which must be taxed to yield one cloak for the *vestis collatio*, whereas 3424 states the number of denarii which sell on one arura for the same tax.

The most probable dates for the first induction mentioned in lines 5 and 7 are AD 357 and 372, induction 15 referring in either case to the preceding year. On grounds of palaeography alone, AD 342 and 387 could also come into consideration, but those dates fall too far outside the known span of Dorotheus' and Papnuthis' engagement in tax affairs; and while there is no mention of the brothers in the text, the presumption that it was found among their papers is nonetheless very high.

The back contains a short list of names, largely mutilated, headed *λόγ(ος) τῶν δρόθ(έντων) ὑπ(έρ) φορτ(ῶν)*.

προσαίτης

ἔσθήτος τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες) λεῖ  
ναιλ(ον) θαλαττῶν εἰν κομοδίου  
δοθ(έντος) Αθανασίου κορυκου<λά>ρης τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες) η καὶ  
(τάλαντα) β̄  
5      ἀδηληγατεύτων ιεῖ ἵν(δικτίωνος) καὶ αἵ τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες)  
      [[τάλαντα]] ξδ  
τῇ ἀμπ(έλῳ) τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α τῶν δύο ἴνδικτ(ίωνων)  
ιεῖ καὶ αἵ τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες) ν  
βουρδάνος τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες) ιε̄  
τιρωνάτου τῇ (ἀρούρῃ) α μυρ(ιάδες) λ̄  
10      β ἴνδικτ(ίωνων)  
προσθήκη κρέων καὶ ἀχύρου  
κρέως 'τῇ λί(τρᾳ) α μυρ(ιάδες) κς, ἀχύρ(ον) τῇ λί(τρᾳ) α μυρ(ιάδες) β  
καὶ τὴν λοιπάδα τοῦ κρέων καὶ ἀχύρου

41. Αθανασίων κορυκουλάρη      9 λ̄ corrected from λεῖ (?)      13 κρέως corrected from κρέψ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Additional demand. For clothing, 35 myriads to the arura. Freight on sea-going vessels, including pay given to Athanasius, *cornicularius*, 8 myriads and 2 talents the arura. Taxes not forming part of the *delegatio* for the 15th and 1st induction, 64 myriads the arura; on vineyards, 400 myriads the arura for the two inductions, the 15th and the 1st. For a mule, 10 myriads the arura. For recruits, 30 myriads the arura for 2 inductions (or, for the 2nd induction). Surcharge on meat and chaff: on meat, 26 myriads to the pound, on chaff 2 myriads to the pound. And the arrears of meat and chaff.’

<sup>1</sup> *προσαίτης* appears to be new in the papyri, though the verb *προσαΐτεω* is common enough. Read *προσαΐτης*, perhaps, but the change hardly seems necessary.

2 ἐκθῆτος: a charge to provide clothing for the army, see above all Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 112–17. In PSI VII 781, 4 (AD 341) the amount charged was only 175 denarii per arura, that is,  $\frac{1}{2}$  the supplement to be collected here. XVI 1905 3–6 gives the calculation in kind as 1 *chlamys* per 243 aruras, 1 *sticharion* per 175 aruras, 1 *pallium* per 1,925 aruras, and an extra  $\frac{1}{2}$  *sticharion* of linen per *chlamys*. A law of AD 377 set the *annua vestis collatio* for Egypt as collectable per thirty *iuga*, and authorized an *adaeratio* for the charge (*Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3). That does not provide a terminus post for this text, however, as the possibility of *adaeratio* is already attested in P. Cair. Isid. 72, from AD 314. See further on 1, 9.

3 ναῦλοι(οι) δακτυρίων: see P. Cair. Isid. 59, 4 n., P. Princ. Roll IX 4 n. In XVI 1905 9 the rate for sea-freight is 1 solidus per 243 aruras. For other relevant texts see A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton, 1949) 160–3.

κομόδων (l. -ω): cf. XLVII 3358 4 and n.; Du Cange, s.v. κόμοδα, ‘apud Suidam, & in Glossis Basiliic. δόσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ σεισμοῦ παρεχομένη. Ubi circuicō legunt viri docti.’

4 The *cornicularius* was the head of a military clerical staff. It is possible that the money was not designated for Athanasius himself, but was to be turned over by him to the appropriate ships’ captains.

5 δότηλγατεύτων: not attested elsewhere. Presumably these are taxes that did not form part of the *delegatio*, perhaps minor levies for local purposes.

8 βουρδῶνος: in XVI 1905 7 the rate charged to purchase mules for the army is 1 gramme of gold per  $4\frac{1}{2}$  arouras. The only other reference to the tax not already in Daris, *Lessico latino*, appears to be 3420 45–6.

9 τιρωνάτον: the word is found again in PSI XIII 1366, 7. There is a good discussion of *aurum tironicum* in Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 119–23; some further bibliography is cited by A. Cérati, *Caractère annonaire et l'assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1975), 15 n. 61. One notes that the taxpayer here is charged an amount of silver currency while the government demanded gold. It was the middleman’s responsibility to get the latter; cf. 3401. A similar situation no doubt prevailed in respect to various taxes in kind such as the *vestis collatio*, seeing that the fractions of cloaks for which most taxpayers would be responsible according to the schedule in 1905 are by nature incapable of delivery in kind. This raises the possibility that *Cod. Theod.* vii 6, 3, which permits an *adaeratio* on *vestis militaris* long after money payments for the charge had been regularly accepted, means that from that time on money collected from the taxpayers could be delivered directly to the state, whereas tax-collectors had previously been obliged to purchase clothing with the money they took in on that account.

10 βιδικτη(ώνων): I have assumed that this means the 15th and the 1st indictions, as in ll. 5 and 7, but βιδικτη(ώνων), ‘for the 2nd indiction’, is also possible.

44 5B.63/(17–19)a (front)

9·5×27·5 cm

c. 359–365

### 3425. LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

οἶνον Ὁαστικοῦ  
σπάτα δ,  
ἐντοπίου κερ(άμα) δ.  
καθαρῶν (ἀρτάβη) α.  
δελφαξ α.  
ὄρνεα δ.  
c. 5 cm blank  
π(αρά) Εὐλογίου πραι(ποσίτου)  
κύμης Τερύθεως.

2 l. σπάθια

‘4 spathia of wine from the Oasis, 4 ceramia of wine produced locally, 1 artaba of fine bread, 1 pig, 4 fowls. From Eulogius *praepositus*, for the village Terythis.’

1 οἶνον Ὁαστικοῦ: products of an Oasis mentioned up to now in the papyri are oil (PSI III 203, 5), garlic (PCZ III 59299, 6 and 7), ochre (XXXI 2567 20), and something called a κούκλη (X 1300 9–10), in addition to the wine attested here and in XVI 2048 1. It is uncertain which oasis is meant in the PCZ papyrus, but as the other texts all come from Oxyrhynchus one presumes that these refer to the neighbouring Ὁασις Μικρᾶ.

7–8 For Eulogius see 3393 introd. The phrase πραι(ποσίτου) κύμης Τερύθεως need not indicate that there were *praepositi* at a village level, but only that Eulogius, as *praepositus* of the fourth *pagus*, was the *praepositus* responsible for Terythis. Cf. perhaps P. Abinn. 39, 3–4, where πραιτούτῳ τῆς Διονυσιάδος means simply the *praepositus* of the *ala* stationed there. It would also be possible to construe κύμης Τερύθεως apart from πραι(ποσίτου), that is, ‘from Eulogius the *praepositus* commodities collected as the contribution from Terythis’, and that view may indeed be preferable, as it raises no further problems of interpretation.

## 3426. MONEY ACCOUNT OF DOROTHEUS THE WINE-MERCHANT

44 5B.63/(17-19)a (back)

9·5×27·5 cm

Fourth century

Two thousand two hundred and fifty myriads of denarii received from the sale of a solidus are expended on food and clothing or turned over to various persons. The question arises whether the Dorotheus of 2, the *ēmuōl* of 13, is also the Dorotheus of 8 and 11-12, and whether either or both are identical with Dorotheus the son of Aphynchis. On the whole it seems unlikely that the correspondence of Dorotheus in the rest of the archive would have contained no reference to wine-selling if Dorotheus had in fact exercised that business as well as tax-collecting, but there is no decisive evidence either way.

On the other side is 3425.

*πα*

*λόγ(ος) Δωροθέου οἰνοπάτρη  
ἀπὸ τε(μῆς) νο(μικατίου) α(δηναρίων) (μυριάδων) 'Bcv  
ἀναλώμ(ατος) ούτως.*

5    *τι(μῆς) εικέων β(δην.) (μυρ.) cμ  
δόμοις τι(μῆς) ἐπθοῦ α(δην.) (μυρ.) ρε  
Ψύρου αδελφ(οῦ) (δην.) (μυρ.) ρ  
Δωροθέου εἰς χήρας (δην.) (μυρ.) ν  
'Ισαδώρου ἀθλητῆ(ρ) (δην.) (μυρ.) ν  
10    *τι(μῆς) εικ(αρίων) λινῶν (δην.) (μυρ.) νξε  
τῷ αὐτῷ Δωροθέου εἰς χήρ(ας) (δην.) (μυρ.) ξγ  
δόμοις τῷ αὐτῷ (δην.) (μυρ.) τ  
ἔμοι καὶ Παπνούθεου (δην.) (μυρ.) ροζ**

*c. 15 cm blank*

5 1. *εικέων*    6 1. *δόμοις*, *ἐφθοῦ*    7-9, 11, 13 1. dative    8, 11 1. *χεῖρας*    12 1. *δόμοις*

<sup>1</sup> 81 (?). Account of Dorotheus, wine-merchant. From the price of a solidus, 2,250 myriads of denarii. Expenditure as follows: price of 2 cucumbers, 240 myr. den. Price of 1 portion of cooked meat likewise, 105 myr. den. For Psyrus, brother, 100 myr. den. Handed over to Dorotheus, 400 myr. den. For Isidorus, athlete, 400 myr. den. Price of linen tunics, 465 myr. den. Handed over to the same Dorotheus, 63 myr. den. Likewise to the same man, 300 myr. den. For myself and Papnuthis, 177 myr. den.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What I have doubtfully read as a numeral here may be no more than a meaningless offset of ink (the same is true of *β* and *α* in 5 and 6). Not the *πα* which often heads late Byzantine documents.

<sup>2</sup> *οἰνοπάτρη*: for the late genitive form cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Münchener Beiträge* 28 (1998) 130 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> To judge from other prices of gold coins from the period, 2,250 myriads may well have been the full value of the solidus here, as it was in P. Osl. III 88. 19, but the use of *ἀρά* may mean that the total price was higher. Cf. 3401 6 n.

## 3427. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5B.63/(60-62)b

9×18·5 cm

Fourth century

There is no indication that this text forms part of the papers of Dorotheus and Papnuthis, but it is of interest for the mention of thirty talents collected for *πρόσκαιρα* (cf. 3392) and expended on the repair of boats. It further contains the only reference to an epoikion named Phlou.

The writing runs across the fibres and the back is blank.

*π(αρὰ) "Ωρον Πανεύριος  
οἰκῶν ἐν ἐποικίου Φλοῦ  
νπ(ἐρ) προσκέρων ἀρ(γυρίου) (τάλαντα) λ.  
(m. 2) Θώθ κα  
5 (ἀν) ἐδόθησαν Απίωνι βοηθῷ  
στρατηγοῦν ὑπέρ ἐπισκευῆς  
πλοίων, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) λ.*

*c. 5 cm blank  
(m. 3?) Σαραπάμμιων (τάλ.) λβ  
Δι[ο]νύσιος (τάλ.) οα  
10 .[.]λαδιον (τάλ.) οα*

2 1. *οἰκῶν*, *ἐποικίων*    3 1. *προσκέρων*

<sup>4</sup> From Horus, son of Pausiris, resident of Phlou farmstead, for occasional charges, 30 talents of silver. (2nd hand) Thoth 21. Of these 30 talents were given to Apion, assistant of the strategus, for the repair of boats. (3rd hand ?) Sarapammon 32 tal., Dionysius 71 tal., NN 71 tal.'

4 Thoth 21 = 18 or 19 September.

8-10 These lines are not written in the second hand, but may be in the first rather than in a third. In any case, the connection with the rest of the text remains unclear. The men may be taxpayers like Horus, and the sums the amounts they paid, but that is only a guess.

44 B.60/C(15)a

## 3428. TAX LIST

18 × 29 cm

Fourth century

A list of persons responsible for parcels of land, followed by a record of sums of money received on various accounts. Among the latter is an *adaeratio* on the wax levy (see 3412) and on woad due to the office of the catholicus.

It is possible that this text was drawn up in an office where Papnuthis or Dorotheus was employed, and was taken home by one of them for use as scrap paper, but there is no proof of that and the document may not belong to the archive. Nonetheless, 'Maximus from Leuci' (17) seems likely to be the headman of 3417 and 3422.

The names Αμουνόνις (l. 2), Κορηλίων (3), 'Ωριγενής (4), Μαρτύρις (11), and Ρίων (15) are not recorded in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*.

Παρίωνι τραπεζίτη (ἄρουραι) λαζδ/

Αμουνόνις Ψεναμούνιος (ἄρ.) ζζ/

Σαραζόνις Κορηλίωνος (ἄρ.) ιδζδ/

'Ωριγενής Σαροπίλωνος (άρ.) ηζ/

5 δι(ά) Χωσόνις πραγματευτής ἐν τῷ Μύτρων

αι(πρότερον) Θερδ(ά) Κοπρέους (άρ.) νηζδ/

δι(ά) Κολλούθουν βωηθ(ού) Θεοδούλου

Πομπεία Ήλιοδώρα (άρ.) ρις

δι(ά) γεωργ(ῶν) Λευκίον

10 Φλ(άσιος) Βαρβάτιος (άρ.) ξαζ/

δι(ά) Μαρτύριος βωηθ(ού) Γεροντίον

Θερμούθιφιον θινγ(άτηρ) Διοσκόρου (άρ.) λαισλθ/

Εὐλογ[ά] θινγ(άτηρ) Αθηνοδάρου (άρ.) νηζ/

Αμωνάριον γ[α]νη(η) Απίλωνος οιέλα (άρ.?) ηδ/

15 ίπ(έρ) Πίλωνος ἀπό Π. [..], είνον (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ψογ

δημοίος ίπ(έρ) ναύλ(ον) ειππίον καὶ τι(μῆτα) κηροῦ (δην.) (μυρ.) χνδ

καὶ ίπ(έρ) Μαξίμου ἀπό Λευκίου (δην.) (μυρ.) Πτμζ ημθ

Αλεξούντος (δην.) (μυρ.) τιζ'

έριον καὶ ισάτεως καθολικότητος

20 ίπ(έρ) 'Ωρίωνος (δην.) (μυρ.) ρξς

Back:

'Ωρίων βωηθ(ού) Θερδούλου (δην.) (μυρ.) εκε

5 πραγματευτής; l. Χωσόνις πραγματευτοῦ 7, 11 l. βοηθοῦ 12 φ of Θερμούθιφιν corr. from a?  
 14 l. νελᾶ? 15 οὗ 16 l. δημοίως; ναυλ· 21 l. βοηθός

'Parion the banker, 31½ araras. Amunus daughter of Psenamunis, 7½ ar. Saracous daughter of Cornelion, 14½ ar. Horigenies son of Sarapion, 8½ ar. through Choüs, agent in Mytron. Formerly belonging to Theod( ) son of Copres, 58½ ar. through Colluthus, Theodulus' assistant. Pompeia Heliodora, 116 ar. through the cultivators at Leuci. Flavius Barbatius, 61½ ar. through Martynis, the assistant of Gerontius. Thermuthion daughter of Dioscorus, 31½ ar. Eulogia daughter of Athenodorus, 50½ ar. Ammoniarion wife of Apion, glass-man (?), 90½ ar. For Rhion from . . ., 773 myriads of denarii. Likewise for freight charges on tow and for the price of wax, 654 myr. den. And for Maximus from Leuci, 249 myr. den. For Alexus, 357 myr. den. For wool and woad to the account of the catholicus, for Horion, 166 myr. den. (Back): Horion, assistant of Theodulus, 225 myr. den.'

5 τῷ Μύτρων: with τῷ understand ἐποικίῳ, κτήματι, or a similar word. The locality was not known before.

9 Δευκίον is of course a personal name as well, but here the village will be meant.

14 After the names the writing is heavily inked and may be in a second hand. At any rate it has the appearance of having been added later. The letters οελά probably represent νελᾶ, gen. of νελᾶ, a maker or seller of glass. The word is not attested, but the papyri have produced numerous new terms for tradesmen formed with the same suffix, see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I 49–50. For οι representing υ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 198–9.

15 The village name may be some version of Πλαγιούλεσον.

18 Αλεξούντος: a village of this name is known from VII 1052 6, 16, and 27, but here an individual could be meant.

19 ἔρλον καὶ ισάρεως: cf. the list of villages supplying these two items in VII 1052. For mentions of ισάρει in papyri see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85–95. Woad owing to the *ratio privata* was known from SB X 10264 as reedited in *ZPE* 17, 91–5. That it was also due the catholicus is hardly surprising, though the fact was not attested before.

21 There was more than ample space free for this note to have been added to the list on the front of the papyrus, so it may refer to some quite different matter.

## 3429. MONEY ACCOUNT

44 5.B.60/C(17-19)a(b)

14 x 19 cm

Fourth century

There is no particular reason to count this damaged list of moneys received and paid out among the papers of Papnuthis and his brother, but it contains another mention of Dorotheus the wine-merchant, some prices of tow and of solidi, and a previously unattested village name.

]. c

κ]ριθ(ῆς) ἀ(ρτάβαι) γ  
]- ὑπ(έρ) τι(μῆς) χόρτου  
ε]ἰς χίραν  
] Αματίου  
] ἐπάτης  
] Παπνουθίου ὑπ(έρ) Κάστωρ ἀπὸ Βτώ  
Διο[νύσιος Απολλωνίου ἀπὸ λόγου πιτακίου (τάλαντα) ρ. β  
...λος Ἰσάκ ἀπὸ πιτακίου πρὸς Ὡρίων (τάλ.) ω  
10 ...τας πρεβυτέρου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Δωροθέου  
οίνοπράτη (τάλ.) Ἡνές  
...αξαπίτος ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὡρίων (τάλ.) σ  
॥π(αρὸς) Κορπέρους Θωνίου ἀπὸ πιτακίου π(ρὸς) Ὡρίων (τάλ.) ॥. ॥  
καὶ π(αρὸς) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαρμάτη ειπίπον δέ(μαι) μβ ἐκ (ταλάντων) τν,  
(γίνονται) (ταλάντων) (μυριάς) α Ἀψ  
15 καὶ π(αρὸς) Απολλῶν Διονυσίου πρὸς Δωροθέου καπήλου (ταλ.) Ἡω  
[καὶ π(αρὸς) Κορπέρους Θωνίου ἔξ ἀπολύτεως τῶν χιριστῶν  
τῷν νομιμ(ατίον) (τάλ.) σ  
[καὶ π(αρὸς) [...]ους Αφούτος χρυ(σοῦ) νομιμ(ατίον) α, (τάλ.) Ἡτ  
[καὶ π(αρὸς) Σαρμάτου εἰς ειπάληρουν τι(μῆς) νομιμ(ατίον)  
20 . [...]των π( ) τῶν χιριστῶν ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης (ταλάντων) (μυριάδες) β Ἑζ  
Back:                  ] (τάλ.) .  
                        ] (τάλ.) φ  
                        ] (τάλ.) φ  
  
c. 4 cm blank  
25 ]. ὑπ(έρ) νομιμ(ατίον) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) Ἔγμε  
                ] (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) σ  
  
41. χεῖρα 71. Κάστωρος 9 ἰσακ'; 1. Ὡρίων 10-11 1. Δωροθέου οίνοπράτην  
12, 13 1. Ὡρίων 15 1. Απολλώτος, Δωροθέου κάπηλον 16 1. χειριστῶν 19 1. ειπάληρων  
20 1. χειριστῶν

## 3429. MONET ACCOUNT

145

'3 artabas of barley . . . for the price of hay . . . into his hand . . . of Amatius . . . ninth . . . (NN, son of) Papnuthis, for Castor from Bto . . . Dionysius son of Apollonius, from the account of the farming association, 1(.2 talents, NN son of Isak from the farming association to Horion, 800 talents, NN the elder from the farming association to Dorotheus the wine-merchant, 8,466 talents, NN from the farming association to Horion, 6,000 talents, from Copreus son of Thonius from the farming association to Horion . . . talents (cancelled), and from the same Sarmates 42 bundles of tow at 350 talents apiece, total 14,700 talents, and from Apollos son of Dionysius to Dorotheus the shopkeeper, 3,800 talents, and from Copreus son of Thonius, in accord with a release from the assistants, 6,000 talents for the solidus, and from NN son of Aphus 1 gold solidus, i.e. 8,300 talents, and from Sarmates, 27,200 talents to make up the price of solidi . . . the assistants in the village . . . talents . . . 500 talents . . . 500 talents . . . 3,245 myriads of denarii for 1 solidus . . . 900 myriads of denarii.'

7 *Btώ* has not occurred previously. Metathesis for *Tθώ*?

8 πιτακίου; usually spelt with two *r*'s. For a short bibliography on these agricultural associations see P. Cair. Isid. 24. 1 n. The figure at the end of the line was 152 or 182.

9 πρὸς Ὡρίων: πρός presumably means either that the money in question was credited to Horion's own dues, or that it was paid to him for further delivery to tax officials. In the former case Horion is likely to have been a pitakiarch, in the latter a field-worker connected with a tax office. The presence of an οἰνοπράτης and a κάπηλος among the men whose names stand after πρός does not seem decisive either way.

10 For Dorotheus the wine-merchant cf. 3426 2. I am not sure whether καπήλον in 15 is intended to distinguish the Dorotheus there from the man here, or is simply a less precise term for οἰνοπράτη.

11 Possibly Ἱέραξ Απιτος.

12 ἐξ ἀπολύτεως τῶν χιριστῶν: I do not find a definition of ἀπολύτεως which is obviously suitable here in LSJ or the WB. It apparently means 'authorization' or 'permission': SB VI 9024. 10 f. is parallel (*ἐξ ἀπολύτεως τῶν γενούχων*), and the use in P. Collect. Youtie 28. 8, 10, and 15 is very close. For the corresponding use of the verb see BGU XIII 2348. 3 note, and cf. the diminutive ἀπολύτεων.

13 Before νομιμ(ατίον), τρῷ seems marginally better than πτ(έρ) τι(μῆς). The amount paid, 6,000 talents, equals 900 myriads of denarii. To judge from other prices of solidi which occur in texts of this period (see 3401 6 n.), that is probably only an instalment on a higher price.

14 I have written the plural νομιμ(ατίον) on the assumption that -τρῳ in the following line stands in agreement with the word abbreviated here. A price of 27,200 talents (= 4,080 myriads of denarii), though perhaps not out of the question as the price for one solidus, would certainly be a very high price for one, and that so much should be only an instalment is hardly credible.

15 Two possibilities are δρ[θέ]ρων π(ρὸς) and πρ[θέ]ρων π(ρὸς).

## 3430. LETTER FROM DIDYMUS TO THEODOTUS

Fourth century

2 1B.105/D(a)

8 x 27 cm

This lively letter of complaint concerning one Asion and others who have allowed a vineyard to fall into neglect is not part of the Papnuthis-Dorotheus papers, but it evidently belongs to the same general milieu. If threats of torture in lines 24 f. and 32 can be taken literally, both correspondents must have held official positions of some responsibility: cf. the imprisonings, real and prospective, in 3397 and 3409. As in much of the Papnuthis correspondence as well there is no address. There are illegible scatterings of ink on the back.

[κυρίῳ μου νίῳ] Θεοδότῳ  
 [Διδύμος.  
 .[.] .[.] Άσιον τὴν τύχην  
 ἐαυτοῦ ἔχλεύασεν καὶ οὐχὶ  
 5 τὴν ἐμὴν ἔδεις τὸ χωρίον  
 εἰς ἔρημον· ἀρκεσθεὶς γάρ οὐπέρ  
 τῆς γυναικὸς δύνοντο ὥστε  
 τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἐνέγκαν  
 εἰς ἀμπελουργίαν τοῦ χωρίου.

10 εἰδὼν οὖν ὅτι χρία μού  
 ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως  
 μάλιστα διὰ τὰ δημόσια  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, σπουδασον κα-  
 τ' αὐτὴν τὴν ροπὴν καταναγ-  
 15 κάσε Άσιοντα ὥστε τὴν  
 παράστασιν τῆς γυναικὸς  
 ποιῆσαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν τέ-  
 κνων αὐτῆς. καὶ τὸν γαμ-  
 βρὸν δὲ ἀπόστιλον ἄμα  
 20 αὐτῶν πρὶν τοῦ με τὴν  
 ὁρμὴν ποιῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἵνα δυνηθῶ τυπῶ-  
 σαι τὸ χωρίον κατὰ λόγου  
 πρὶν ὁδεῖναι. μετὰ στρε-  
 25 βλώσεως οὖν ἀπόστιλον  
 Άσιοντα ἄμα αὐτῶν.

(m. 2) ἐρράσθαι εε εῦχομαι  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις

κύριέ μου νίέ.

(m. 1) [[παράσχον Ἰσαάκ Φανβαρτόν  
 εἰς ευηπλόρωσεις]]

Along the left side:

μετὰ στρεβλώσεως μεθόδευσον Ἔρμιαν τὰ δύο διπλᾶ Αθανασίου ἐπικον]

7 l. δείκνυν ορ δείκνυν  
 25 l. ἀπόστιλον

10 l. χρεία

14–15 l. καταναγκάσαι

19 l. ἀπόστιλον 22 ίνα

30 Ἰσαάκ

To my lord son Theodosius, Didymus. . . . Asion has made a mockery of his own fate, not of mine, by letting the plot go to desert; for, once you are satisfied about the woman, announce that she is to bring her children to do the vineyard work of the plot. Knowing, then, that there is need of me in the city, especially because of the public dues, and other things as well, hasten this very moment to force Asion to make the woman and her children put in an appearance. And send the son-in-law with them before I start out for the city so that I can assign (?) the plot properly before going. So torture Asion and send him here with them. (2nd hand) I pray for your health for many years, my lord son. (1st hand, cancelled): Supply Isak Phanbartos for the completion. . . . (on the left side): Use torture to collect from Hermias the double-jars of Athanasius. . . .

3–4 τὴν τύχην ἐαυτοῦ ἔχλεύασεν: cf. P. Laur. II 43. 10–11, ἔχλεύασατε οὐκ ἐδὲ δὲλτα ἐαυτούς; PSI V 481. 9, χλεύασας ἐαυτόν. Preisigke translates the last passage 'benahm sich frech' (WB, s.v.), but perhaps it means rather 'spoiled things for himself'.

6–7 ἀρκεσθεὶς γάρ οὐπέρ τῆς γυναικὸς: i.e., once you have surety for her? It seems likely that the woman referred to is Asion's wife.

22–3 τυπῶσαι τὸ χωρίον: the closest parallels to this expression that I have been able to find are P. Giss. 54. 14, τυπῶσιν (sic) τὸν εἶτον τόδινον δημόσιους τῆς κτήσεως ἡμῶν and SB VI 937b. 3–4, τυπῶσαι αὐτοῦς τρία ζῷα. According to the editor of the second text, 'In both cases an object is reserved for a predetermined end either by a mark put on it or a note written about it in some ledger' (JEA 40, 1954, 75). The second procedure would be applicable to a plot of land, but just what is meant here is not clear to me.

24–5 στρεβλώσεως: so also in 32. The word can now be recognized in P. Mert. I 45. 4, where στρεβλῶσεις is to be read. Cf. further P. Tebt. III(1) 789. 15 n. and the mention of *aikla* in 3409 21. In this context, however, one may doubt whether μετὰ στρεβλώσεως is really more than a livelier expression for πάντως ποίησον.

30 Φανβαρτόν: not in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*. Other possible word divisions would produce Φανβάρ τόν, Φάνβ ἀρτόν, Φάν βάρτον (for βάρδον, 'mule'?), but none of this is particularly convincing. The dotted *α* could be read as *ε*, perhaps also as *ι*.

## INDEXES

Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. The article is not indexed, nor is *kai* in the documentary texts.

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

#### MENANDER, *Misoumenos* (3368–3371)

The A prefixed to line nos. has been omitted in 3368 fr. C (it does not apply). P = PIFAO  
inv. 89.

ἄγειν 3368 B ii 93?	βαδίζειν 3368 A ii 53 3369 i 53
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ἄμελεῖν 3368 B ii 92	δεῖνος 3368 A ii 54
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ἄπαιρεν 3369 i 33? 3370 33?	δαδόνα 3369 i 49?
ἄπειρεσθαι 3369 i 42?	δαρρεῖσθαι 3368 B ii 98
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Ἄπόλλων 3368 C 4?	ἔγα 3368 A i 6, 10 (bis), 12, ii 54, B ii [85?], [86?], C [4?], 6 3369 i 18?, 21, 22, [30?], 42?, 43 3370 42? P 12
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